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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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25 February 1985

## EAST EUROPE REPORT

### POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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ALBANIA

AWP PAPER ON SOVIET-U.S. RELATIONS

AU251241 Tirana ATA in English 0924 GMT 25 Jan 85

[Text] Tirana January 25 (ATA)--The latest development in the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union following Shultz-Gromyko meeting as well as the agreements reached, confirm once again a dangerous element in the political and diplomatic practice of the superpowers--the monopolization of the international problems. This is of grave consequences to the freedom, independence and sovereignty of the peoples throughout the world, writes the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT in an article. Not much time passed and the world public opinion saw that the chiefs of the diplomacy of the two superpowers did not discuss simply and only on the weapons or bilateral relations. The emphasis and the tones of the propaganda on "the importance of Soviet-American dialogue," the agreements reached in Geneva to hold bilateral talks on Central America and on other regions and international problems bring into evidence a political mentality and philosophy which is based on the exclusivity and the right of the United States and the Soviet Union to determine and control, to influence and make the law in the international life.

At present time, the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, the newspaper stresses, have raised the monopolization of the international problems to the highest level, that of official political etiquette. In order to justify this, the American and Soviet politicians propagate the already old concept of dependence of the international relations on the big powers, and according to them the two biggest powers are the United States and the Soviet Union. They preach that they have also the right to determine the development of the international relations. "Everybody knows well, that the situation in the world in general depends on the state of the Soviet-American relations," Gromyko has declared. While Reagan, on his part has stressed that "the peace depends only on the American-Soviet understanding." According to this logic the peoples must accept everything that is dished out by the kitchen of American-Soviet bargains, must subdue and accept the decisions taken by the big powers.

The two superpowers not only carry into practice the monopolization, but they also try to give it a legal validity, to turn it into an international moral and juridical norm. This is the "enrichment" of the international imperialist right by they themselves. Above all it implies the collaboration of the two superpowers to sabotage, undermine and extinguish the revolutionary and

liberation struggles of the peoples in various regions from Middle East to Central America, from Asia to Southern America, the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT underlines. Further on the newspaper points out that this has been extensively dealt with in the Shultz-Gromyko meeting, despite the fact that it was not mentioned at all in the joint communique.

The monopolization of the international problems is an expression of the dangerous hegemonist policy and of the imperialist arrogance of the two superpowers. The United States and the Soviet Union aim at limiting the right of sovereign states in the international arena, at impairing the sovereignty and dignity of the nations. In this way the superpowers doubt over the experience of the sovereign states themselves, over their right to live free and independent. This is of grave consequence, because it limits and impairs the freedom of action and decision-making even for the internal affairs. Such a policy pursued by the imperialist superpowers cannot fail to draw the attention and enhance the vigilance of all those who have sacred the freedom and independence, ZERI I POPULLIT writes in conclusion. [as published]

CSO: 2020/63

ALBANIA

EDUCATION TO FIGHT IDEOLOGICAL AGGRESSION, APATHY

AU261941 Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian No 12, Dec 84 pp 50-62

[Article by Muharrem Xhafa: "Educational Work With People Is Concrete and Effective When It Is Linked With and Serves Life"]

[Excerpts] The educational system in the party and the mass organizations has played and continues to play an important role in raising the ideological standard and in the revolutionary tempering of the communists, cadres and working people. Rich experience has been gained, particularly in the study of the materials of the Eighth AWP Congress and of Comrade Enver Hoxha's works "The Titoites," "On the Seventh 5-Year Plan," and so forth. But the party has always viewed the system of education in the party and the mass organizations, like the entire educational and training work carried out with people, to be in constant development. The party requires that educational work should be perfected in accordance with new situations and tasks, as well as the rising standards of the communists and the working people, and that it should always serve as a powerful stimulus in mobilizing them to fulfilling tasks.

What insures the profound understanding and practical implementation of the party's line and directives is the link between the theoretical theses, laws, and principles of Marxism-Leninism, on the one hand, and our revolutionary practice, on the other.

This fundamental requirement by the party with regard to educational work and the training of people is well known, but is not always achieved with the required degree of efficiency. The communists, cadres and working people benefited considerably from the study of Comrade Enver's work "On the Seventh 5-Year Plan" in properly conceiving and resolving a number of concrete problems pertaining to the party's economic policy in the current 5-year period. It must be said, however, that some problems pertaining to productivity, norms, wages, efficiency, the relationship between production and consumption, between consumption and accumulation, and so forth, have not been properly understood everywhere. Numerous facts testify to perceptible shortcomings in these important questions, to which the party again drew attention at the Ninth AWP Central Committee Plenum in September 1984.

Let us take another question: Our country's enemies, both external and internal, cannot reconcile themselves to the comprehensive achievements of our country, under the party's leadership, during the past 40 years of

socialist construction. They are enraged by this reality, they are enraged by the great loss that their hopes suffered with the defeat of the conspiracy headed by the multi-agent Mehmet Shehu, they are enraged by the prestige enjoyed by socialist Albania in the world. The ideological aggression that they have undertaken against our country and which has become even more savage recently, is intended to distort and degenerate our reality, to confuse the minds of our people. Naturally, our work and struggle in meeting this aggression and in defeating it is comprehensive and continuous. It is a fact that, guided by the party's Marxist-Leninist ideology, our people are generally maintaining a revolutionary stand at work and in life. But there are also cases of people manifesting stands that are alien to socialism, who violate party norms, who adopt antisocialist attitudes toward work and socialist property, whose behavior in society and in the family are unworthy, people who go so far as to perpetrate crimes, who continue to follow or who revert to religious practices and backward customs in social and family life. There are also cases of unilateral, indifferent, and liberal stands toward such alien manifestations and people harboring them, which shows that the class struggle is not properly understood and waged everywhere and by all, as well as a certain superficiality and generalization in ideopolitical work. A new problem is thus created in some collectives and environments: To the concern created by alien manifestations one must add the concern created by indifference and passivity in the struggle against these manifestations.

The Ninth AWP Central Committee Plenum in September 1984 instructed that these manifestations should be prevented, that an end be put to the lack of concern and indifference observed occasionally among communists, cadres and working people who fail to consider alien manifestations and stands as a reflection of the class struggle and, consequently, fail to combat them resolutely. The party demands that the vigilance of all communists, cadres and working people be raised, that our entire public opinion be raised against anyone violating the party's line and norms, the state laws and regulations, and the good customs of the people. But the strengthening of the militant spirit and revolutionary action by the party organs and organizations, as well as all their instruments, requires a more determined and organized struggle against alien manifestations. This is achieved through a well-thought out political activity with concrete aims and objectives, using varied forms of education, training and mobilization.

The Ninth AWP Central Committee Plenum made it clear once again that the problems confronting us presently with regard to the ideological and political education of the communists, cadres and the masses, cannot be resolved empirically and in a routine manner, but only with a revolutionary style and method. We can no longer use the same methods of work and solutions used years ago, not only because the problems presently confronting us are more complicated, but also because the demands for resolving them are more rigorous and urgent. This requires that the party organs and basic organizations take a broader view of their educational work and engage themselves more seriously in making this work as efficient as possible.

ALBANIA

MIHALI ATTENDS ANNIVERSARY OF STATE BANK FOUNDING

AU231425 Tirana ATA in English 0745 GMT 23 Jan 85

[Text] Tirana, January 23 (ATA)--On occasion of the 40th anniversary of the creation of the State Bank and the 15th anniversary of the Agricultural Bank, a jubilee meeting was organized in one of the halls of the palace of culture in the capital yesterday before noon. Attending it were working people of these banks and their branches in the districts, and other invitees.

Present were also the alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and vice chairman of the Council of Ministers Comrade Qirjako Mihali, the Minister of Agriculture Themie Thomai, the secretary of the party committee of the district of Tirana Faik Cinaj and other comrades.

The meeting was opened by the Minister of Finance Niko Gjyzari.

On behalf of the Council of Ministers, those present were greeted by Comrade Qirjako Mihali. The creation of the State Bank 40 years ago, he said among others, was part and parcel of the program of the measures of revolutionary character that the party adopted, and which would play an important role for the development of the socialist economy. The new state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, implementing resolutely the revolutionary policy of the party for the reconstruction of the country and its development on the road of socialism took a series of measures of economic and financial character. After the completion of the collectivization of agriculture in January 1970, the Agricultural Bank was created as an important institution to help in the fast rate development of agriculture and for the economic, organizative and financial [word indistinct] of the agricultural cooperatives. Then he dwelt on the special care of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, on the role and functions of the State Bank and the agricultural one in the socialist construction of the country. The bank of the Albanian state, he continued, had loyally abided by the orientations of the party and has maintained and maintains relations with a number of banks of different states in the field of payments, on the basis of the known principles of equality and mutual interest, placing above everything the freedom and independence of our people.

The hitherto achievements, he stressed, and the conditions of the intensive development of the economy should serve to raise the quality of the work in all the domains and especially the higher effectiveness of the economy and

strengthening of finances, as the Ninth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party instructed, Comrade Qirjako Mihali said in conclusion.

Andrea Nako, general director of the State Bank spoke on the 40 year road of the State Bank and the 15 year road of the Agricultural Bank.

CSO: 2020/63

BULGARIA

CIVIL DEFENSE OF NATO COUNTRIES REVIEWED

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 18 Dec 84 p 4

[Article by Tsvyatko Genov: "Civil Defense in the NATO Countries"]

[Text] An important role in the system of imperialism's militarist preparations for unleashing a new war is given to civil defense which, as the generals of the Pentagon have frequently stated, is inseparable from other military problems and is regarded as an integral part of them. The American press notes that under present conditions civil defense is of greater importance than in the past and, therefore, must be programmed as part of the overall system of military preparations.

One of the basic tasks of the organs of civil defense of the NATO member countries is the establishment and training of forces for overcoming the effects of nuclear strikes and other means of mass annihilation.

In most cases, the organizational structure of the systems of civil defense in the countries of the aggressive bloc is identical. As a rule, the ministries of the interior are entrusted with the general direction of civil defense activities. Exceptions to the rule exist in the United States, where the organs of civil defense come under the president, in Canada, where they come under the federal government, in Portugal, where they come under the Ministry of Defense, and in Norway, where they come under the Ministry of Justice and Police.

The principles governing the participation of the population differ. In the United States, Great Britain, and Canada participation is voluntary. In Turkey and Portugal it is based on conscription. In the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Belgium, Denmark and Holland the voluntary principle is supplemented with obligatory conscription of contingents of predetermined size.

Civil defense forces in the NATO countries are made up of formations of central, regional and local commands. In most countries, the central command formations are mobile multipurpose columns. The basic task of the mobile columns is the elimination of the effects of nuclear strikes. In a state of emergency, the mobile columns are mainly used in larger cities and industrial centers. They are manned by recruiting those subject to military service.



The regional formations consist of interregional detachments of the various civil defense services. They are established in the most important industrial cities and the more populous zones. In addition, self-defense subdetachments (platoons and groups) are set up in some countries. In the Federal Republic of Germany, one self-defense platoon of 20 men is allocated to small regions with a population of up to 5,000 people. In Turkey, every district under a senior instructor (between 5,000 and 10,000 inhabitants) has a self-defense group of 12 men, whereas a district under an instructor (between 1,000 and 2,000 inhabitants) has a group of 8 men.

The NATO countries, in order to carry out various measures for saving the population and the economy in a nuclear war, have set up a system of coordinated action between the civil defense organs and the armed forces. This is particularly true for the United States, where the civil defense system has no staff and means of its own and, in carrying out these tasks, relies on the units and detachments of the armed forces.

The NATO countries pay special attention to warning of an attack. The warning system is best developed in the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, Great Britain, France, and Canada. In the United States the system has two federal centers. The main one is in the region of Colorado Springs and is attached to the command post of the Unified Command for Air and Space Defense of the North American Continent (NORAD). A total of 200,330 additional alarm centers are located on federal, state and local sites. The Federal Republic of Germany has 1 federal center, 10 local centers (1 for each civil defense district) and close to 25,000 stationary warning posts. Similar systems exist in England and France. They are operated by the army.

One of the most important tasks of the civil defense system of the NATO countries is the carrying out of a set of measures for the defense and safeguarding of the population. It is based on the establishment of a system of defense installations and the evacuation and dispersal of the population. To this end, it is planned to build new shelters and dugouts and to restore old ones from the Second World War. In addition, underground structures of existing buildings will be put to use after appropriate adaptation. Some countries plan to use subway stations, traffic tunnels, abandoned mines, and natural underground shelters (caves and the like).

Until 1980, the military and political leadership of Great Britain did not build any new shelters and dugouts. If needed, it had planned to use tunnels, tube stations, house basements and shelters from the Second World War. Now, taking into consideration the results of an analysis of the possibilities of survival of the population in a nuclear war, it has decided to considerably increase its efforts in this regard.

In France, Italy, Belgium and Greece, the construction of shelters and dugouts proceeds at a slow pace. The understanding in these countries is that, in emergencies, large numbers of stone buildings with basements can be used as antiradiation shelters following some minimal adaptation.

In the past several years, the NATO countries have given high priority to the problem of the evacuation and the dispersal of the population. The signal for this came from the United States. Measures are taken for the timely evacuation of the population from the large administrative and industrial centers under the premise that, in case of a massive nuclear strike, this will ensure the survival of an additional number of people. Evacuation, according to United State's specialists, does not entail a total production stop in the cities and centers.

According to some specialists, the dispersal of production facilities over the entire territory of the country is an efficient method for enhancing the stability of the various industrial branches. This is particularly true of branches and sectors which are of crucial importance for the conduct of military action, such as those engaged in the production of new weapons and also of the largest energy-producing, industrial and transportation enterprises.

High priority is also given to safeguarding the strategic reserves of raw materials and food supplies for the population.

Although the foreign press notes that the measures for civil defense in the NATO countries are carried out on a national basis, there is coordination within the framework of the bloc. The Civil Defense Command, through the Committee for Civil Defense, coordinates the activities of the civil defense organs of the individual countries with their general military preparations.

12653

CSO: 2200/88

BULGARIA

LACK OF SOCIAL DISCIPLINE, ORDER EXPOSED

Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian 19 Dec 84 p 1

[Editorial by Veselin Iosifov: "Misunderstood Democracy"]

[Text] Owners of private vehicles brashly park their cars in front of an official building with a sign that parking is allowed for official cars only. Reprimanded that what they do is not correct, they answer: "Aren't we in a socialist country? Isn't this a democracy?"

Entire settlements, without plan or permit, sprout close to a state reservoir which has many irrigational and water-carrying functions. To the reprimand that nowhere in the world is such a thing allowed, that the water belongs to all, that it should not be polluted, that the land may not be grabbed up as if it belonged to nobody, the squatters answer: "Aren't we in a socialist country? Isn't this a democracy?"

Cars are driven along roads and highways according to makes and the mood of their owners and not according to signs regarding speed limits, passing, turns or iciness. When reprimanded, these people also answer that they are citizens of a socialist country, and that we live in a democracy.

In the stores they push, pass and elbow others because we are a socialist country and live under democracy. They overcrowd public transportation, cut out tapestry or other material from the chairs in the houses of culture, trample over the grass in public parks break the facilities of children's playgrounds, rip off telephone cords in public buildings, outshout each other when leaving places of public entertainment, turn up their radios and record players to 300 decibels in the huge coop apartment buildings, and do whatever else they please in the name of socialism and socialist democracy.

The organs of public order and their agents are forced to make countless improper compromises with the perpetrators of countless daily and nightly violations. But neither the address "comrade" nor that of "citizen" bring to their senses these supporters of democratic opinions which profit only those who hold them.

In the Freedom Park, side by side with construction trucks, present and future so-called sport champions dash around and can run you over any time. Warnings, instructions, even supplications only serve as challenges to be overcome by those who stand for disorder in the name of democracy.

In the name of democracy, bread and produce arrive late in the stores. In the name of democracy, sales clerks are hostile to the buyers, and the buyers, also in the name of democracy, tremble at the rudeness of the sales clerks in the state stores. In the hospital, a nurse jeopardizes a very fine surgery performed by an entire team of neurologists or traumatologists because this nurse, too, has a high awareness of democracy and never arrives on time or does not come at all for night duty. In the court offices you are given a merry-go-round ride until you manage to get some transcript, and in the end you notice that documents are missing which were submitted a long time ago. It appears we begin to forget Comrade Todor Zhivkov's wonderful definition of how we turn in magic circles like horses at the water-wheel, again in the name of democracy and socialism. These water-wheels turn and use up the energy and time of the good workers for socialism and of those citizens who have a true understanding of the advantages of socialist democracy.

People are rightly afraid to participate in discussions on a sidewalk or a bus, because there immediately appear other people who, in the name of democracy and socialism, voice their strange interpretations of the subjects being discussed.

Obviously, the Bulgarian feels he is the master in his country. At the same time, there is evidence of a certain confusion of functions, as in the fairy tale about the millers who get their feet mixed up. The hierarchy of functions has been disturbed in which it is not insulting for people to serve others rather than lecture them nervously. The service sector is not a sector of servants but of employees. The sector of those served is not a sector of masters but of citizens with justified demands. We are moving toward higher forms of developed socialism under which two-thirds of the population will be in the service sector. This is why these sectors cannot be allowed to zoom around like fallen celestial bodies but must obey objective laws.

All this is an expression of the so-called little truth which cannot harm the great truth of socialism as a higher and more just social system. Yet these are daily clashes caused by misunderstood opinions of democracy. Well-understood democracy means order, respect for the rights of others, mutual respect and culture. Only then will the historical advantages of our system be evidenced and felt. The greater truth of socialism and socialist democracy calls for organization and discipline.

12653

CSO: 2200/88

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BENO ANALYZES SOCIOECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS AT 12TH PLENUM

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Dec 84 p 3

[Speech by Mikulas Beno, CPCZ Central Committee secretary]

[Excerpts] The statement by the leadership of the CPCZ Central Committee characterizes the proposed state plan for economic and social development for 1985 as exceptionally demanding and a progressive implementation of the policies set out at the party congress. Its orientation toward the satisfaction of society's higher needs, further strengthening of the Czechoslovak economy, and increased social and political security for our people gives an attractive flavor to the political struggle of the party and activities throughout society directed at the overall fulfillment of the more precise goals of the Seventh 5-Year Plan and exceeding them in the desired areas. The feasibility of the planned strengthening and acceleration of positive trends in the development of our economy's efficiency, savings and the quality of all work depends on the more intensive utilization of economic potential, together with the development of the appropriate party political work, broad initiatives by employees, and further improvements in management at all levels.

The party with its base of 1,633,000 members is the decisive political force for further overall improvements in the process of building a developed socialist society. The size of the tasks which we are setting out for ourselves and the more difficult conditions for performing them multiply the inevitable growth of the party's leading role. Questions about ensuring improvements in the membership base in the spirit of the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress as worked out at the Third Plenum of our party's Central Committee are also coming more sharply to the forefront.

We consider it a good thing to have this growth in party activity and a strengthening of its ideological and operational unity, as well as the fact that we continue to augment favorably the ranks of the party in its social, age, and qualifications composition. Unfortunately, we cannot evaluate all okreses or quite a number of party organizations so favorably, since they do not devote constant, overall attention to the training and education of future communists and do not always base their actions on the need to strengthen party influence at decisive or laggard places of work and especially among the key professions.

Recently the party territorial agencies, under the leadership of the Central Committee, have taken many actions to raise the level of organizational, educational, personnel and control activities and to improve the quality of work by their own offices and the political apparatus, and to train selected party activists. They direct special attention to strengthening the role of the basic party organizations. This is why we place such emphasis on constant attention to the selection and training of basic organization chairpersons, who represent not only the almost 50,000 highly committed basic party activists, but also an important base of personnel reserves.

The basic party organization meetings at the beginning of the year and the public party meetings which follow them occupy an important place in the mobilization of the party and workers for a successful culmination of the entire 5-year plan and the creation of good conditions for going into the next period.

A political approach to the state plan goals for 1985 requires of all party agencies and organizations and all communists, especially in the economic management chain of command, that they organize the implementation of tasks with maximum utilization of all available opportunities. It is urgent that these requirements be firmly implanted in their thoughts and discussions so that the principle that the state plan is law be applied in all areas and that its fulfillment and overfulfillment in the desired directions be a matter of the socialist consciousness of every worker and the essence of party membership and pride for every communist.

There are some antisocial phenomena inseparably connected with this which we still have not overcome, such as, for example, various speculation tricks, getting lower goals set, hiding reserves, and such. The party agencies and organizations cannot ignore such attitudes and cannot allow them to go on, but must put all their weight and appropriate political activities behind the overall needs and interests of society.

Our deliberately chosen course of a unified, highly effective political, organizational, educational, and economic program of action has a very serious and realistic goal, which is to do everything possible to develop fully the factors and means of intensive social, economic, and cultural development of our socialist society. We want to overcome more emphatically any obstacles in our path and form more fully a social and political atmosphere and people's attitudes and awareness which will determine the rhythm of everyday actions by management circles and all workers as well.

This cannot take place without constantly strengthening the state planning and work discipline, increasing the level of organization and order at every work area, and improving the moral and political responsibility for maintaining the norms of both party and social life. Correction of deficiencies in this area is the purpose of a set of measures by party and state agencies contained primarily in last February's Letter from the CPCZ Central Committee Leadership and in the resolution on intensifying control activities. We have to say that this resolution has so far not had the desired effect, which increases the urgency of applying it more actively.

It is all the more urgent that not all party agencies are as yet carrying out their tasks at the necessary level. We know that there are considerable differences in the level of commitment of communists to carrying out the party policies in the work and political activities as they are supposed to be. We are daily convinced as to how the strength and authority of the party agencies grow when they energetically struggle to carry out their tasks and when they quickly and thoroughly resolve problems with people in the workplace.

The basic organizations, in order to increase further their capabilities for action, must get even more help, especially from the okres party committees which directly manage them. It is always necessary to put emphasis on improving work with the party organizations in the factories and to base it on deep personal knowledge of the workplace and its problems. Of course, this puts even greater demands on the work of the party apparatus as well and on its personal participation in political actions among the workers, along with joint responsibility for carrying out party resolutions. Lively, well-qualified, and direct contact with the committees, chairpersons and the entire party organization cannot be replaced by any administrative actions or reorganizations which ignore the differences between situations and actual needs.

6285

CSO: 2400/163

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

POLICY ON MINORITIES IN CSSR DISCUSSED

Prague NOVA MYSL in Slovak No 12, 1984 pp 70-78

[Article by Ivan Bajcura: "The Nationalities Question in CPCZ Policy"]

[Excerpts] Nationality relations are complicated by their very nature. They do not form an individual kind of social relationship but are more like an intersection that penetrates their structure. They have their own economic, socioclass, political, ideological, cultural, language and sociopsychological dimensions. With regard to their manifestation, they act like institutional and individual relations and have their own internal and international aspects. A general determination of nationality relations indicates that the problem of nationalities and the laws of their motion are important with respect to their being recognized and, to an even greater degree, the level of their social regulation and management. The 20-year rule of the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie, its oppressive policies, propaganda of nationalism, agitation of national disputes and conflicts, the policies and intrigues of international imperialism toward Czechoslovakia, the break-up of the CSR and occupation by German fascism, Hungary's Horthy and Poland's Beck--all of this taken together greatly complicated the nationalities question in Czechoslovakia and actually pushed it to the forefront of national concerns.

The defeat of the bourgeoisie in February 1948 and the assumption of political power by the working class established the general conditions for a socialist resolution of the nationalities problem. The general policy for building socialism in our country was formulated comprehensively, justified and, through its resolutions, determined by the 11th CPCZ Congress. The issue of solving the nationalities question was also an organic part of this policy. The 11th CPCZ Congress designated the socialist industrialization of Slovakia as the main task of the problem on nationalities. The objective of industrialization was to eliminate the great socioeconomic and cultural backwardness of Slovakia, improve the welfare of the people, consolidate the unity of the Czechoslovak economy and elevate the importance and leading role of the working class in society. The realization of these goals had positive consequences and led to the establishment of economic and cultural equity in Slovakia but the political and state-legal aspect of nationality relations was not resolved with the adoption of the asymmetrical state structure by the Constitution of 9 May.

In judging and evaluating the CPCZ policy on nationalities during the stage of building the foundations of socialism, one must proceed from the specific



historical situation and perceive its appropriateness at the time. In this connection, one must point out the inadequacy of theoretical-conceptual formulation of many important questions of nationality relations and the legitimacy of their development, which inevitably were reflected in drafting and carrying out the policy on nationalities. The formation and implementation of a nationalities policy by the party were also unfavorably affected by such factors as the outbreak of the cold war and the growing danger of war on the part of international imperialism, the complicated situation in the communist movement, etc. Development of the party's nationality policy was negatively influenced by the campaign against so-called Slovak bourgeois nationalism directed against a group of leading CPSL officials, members of the V illegal leadership and the chief organizers of the SNP [Slovak National Uprising]. For some time this campaign influenced the implementation of the policy on nationalities and the whole ideological struggle against nationalism, not only in Slovakia but throughout the republic. At the beginning of the 1960's, even though the general situation was better, the policy on nationalities was not raised to a higher level and its implementation met with such negative tendencies as subjectivism and voluntarism in its resolution. Due in particular to A. Novotny in this sensitive area there began to appear administrative-bureaucratic procedures, a distrust of the Slovak nation, a marked reduction and limitation of the authority of Slovak national agencies, etc. These matters were sharply criticized by the 14th CPCZ Congress.

The Slovak question and the problem of Czech-Slovak relations were critical in the pattern of nationality relations in Czechoslovakia. Czech-Slovak relations had and have for Czechoslovakia a vital character and therefore they have occupied and do occupy a key position in the party's nationalities policy. The nationality structure of Czechoslovak society is not limited to Czech-Slovak relations. Besides the Czech and Slovak nations there are four nationalities living in Czechoslovakia--Hungarian, Ukrainian, Polish and German. Although these nationalities form less than 6 percent of the total composition of the republic population, they involve a politically urgent and important set of problems. This is based on the fact that socialism guarantees equal and free development to all nations and nationalities, regardless of their numbers. The urgency of this problem also stems from the complicated and discordant development of the national minorities living in Czechoslovakia in the recent past and the fact that they inhabit essentially peripheral border areas and touch on their "motherland," etc.

In view of the emigration from Czechoslovakia of the great majority of German inhabitants after 1945, the nationality pattern in the Czech krajs became considerably simpler. At present, members of national minorities form less than 2 percent of the population of the CSR. The focus of the minorities problem has shifted to Slovakia, where minorities form almost 12 percent of the overall population on the basis of the 1980 census.

The CPCZ dealt with the condition of the national minorities by granting equal civil rights to their members and satisfying their requirements, especially in the educational and cultural areas. In the Hungarian question, the CPCZ strove to promote a new, improved policy which would fully conform to the requirements for building socialism. An important part of this new policy was eliminating

civil, political and nationality inequities and discrimination toward inhabitants of Hungarian nationality. Without this basic change, it would not have been possible to integrate the Hungarian national minority into the process of socialist construction.

Regarding the Ukrainian question, in view of its distinct historical development, along with socialist changes there were also important democratic changes which, taken together, were to further the process of nationally organizing the Ukrainian minority into the final phase and thereby completing the conditions for its successful socialist development. In view of the extremely unfavorable historical circumstances, the Ukrainian nationality entered the socialist period with many unresolved national problems. Consequently, from the start of socialist construction, the CPCZ concentrated in the Ukrainian question on accelerating the process of national self-awareness and self-consciousness. To this end party resolutions were passed on instituting Ukrainian as the language of instruction in schools and other cultural institutions, the establishment of the Cultural Society of Ukrainian Workers, etc.

Through its policies the CPCZ was also developing basic conditions for the national emancipation and active integration into the process of socialist construction of the Polish national minority. Party and state agencies of the North Moravian kraj devoted systematic attention to resolving the problems of the Polish national minority and its fraternal coexistence with the Czech nation.

Even though the nationalities policy of the CPCZ during the stage of building the foundations of socialism up to the end of the 1960's had its shortcomings, great strides forward were made by socialist resolution of the nationalities problems in eliminating the age-old backwardness of Slovakia and in establishing equal rights for the Slovak nation and the various national minorities.

The development of nationality relations entered a markedly higher stage during the period of building a developed socialist society.

Implementation of the policies of the 14th, 15th and 16th CPCZ congresses in the economic realm brought about dynamic development throughout the CSSR and, within its framework, rapid development of the SSR. Thanks to this development, Slovakia was transformed into a mature industrial-agrarian country. This historic fact can be documented by many data: whereas in 1937 Slovakia's share of national industrial production was 7 percent, at present it is about 30 percent. From 1948 to 1984 industrial production in the CSSR grew by a factor of 12.7, including 10.4 in the CSR and 28 in Slovakia.. The equalizing processes were especially intensified after the federalization of our state and the emergence of new party leadership. Compared with 1970, the gross domestic product in 1980 was 48 percent higher in the CSR and 66 percent higher in Slovakia. Also attesting to the high rate of development in Slovakia during the Sixth 5-Year Plan is the fact that during this period Slovakia had a statewide increase in industry, almost 40 percent in agriculture, and 47 percent in construction.

The more rapid development in Slovakia is also taking place during the Seventh 5-Year Plan, as is clearly proven by the results of its fulfillment thus far.

Facts show that the period after 1970 is also among the most successful in socialist development thus far in achieving socioeconomic equality in Slovakia, which has reached a high degree and has actually entered its final phase. Practical experience has averted fears that establishing the federation would have a disintegrating effect, especially in the economic field. The attainment of this status was highly appraised by the 16th CPCZ Congress, at which it was stated: "We can say with justifiable pride that the task of overcoming the historically existing differences in the conditions of economic, political and cultural life of our nation has been substantially fulfilled. Backward regions have disappeared in the Czechoslovak republic."

This kind of development could be recorded in Slovakia only with the active help of our fraternal Czech nation. In this is seen the profound humanism and internationalism of the nationality policy of the CPCZ. Anticommunist propaganda which sharply attacks the nationality policy of the CPCZ is attempting to plant in the consciousness of Czech workers the idea that helping Slovakia has slowed down the development of the Czech nation and its living standard, that the Czech nation is subsidizing Slovakia, etc. In this connection, we must emphasize that overcoming the socioeconomic and cultural backwardness of Slovakia was and is in the interest of all of Czechoslovakia, it conforms to the vital needs of the Czechoslovak state, safeguarding its strength and internal unity. Only by overcoming this backwardness was it possible to protect the socialist development of the Czechoslovak economy, fully place the human and raw material resources of Slovakia at its service, secure true equality of rights for the Slovak nation and accelerate the process of building a socialist society. The help of the Czech nation in developing Slovakia thus does not have a one-sided character but is rather a matter beneficial to both sides. Resolution of the Slovak question was a matter for the whole state and is a great historical success for the nationality policy of the CPCZ.

The problem of overcoming backwardness and improving socioeconomic conditions also acutely affected some of the nationalities. The Polish national minority which lives in the developed Ostrava industrial population center did not know of the problem of overcoming backwardness. This is also true of the German minority which, in spite of its great dispersion, for the most part lives in the industrially developed North Bohemian and West Bohemian krajs. The problem of economic improvement affected the Ukrainian and Hungarian national minorities more, since they lived in regions that were very backward from a socioeconomic point of view. The nationalities policy of the CPCZ and of the socialist state recognized these facts and in the process of socialist construction in the southern and northeastern regions of Slovakia, where the Hungarian and Ukrainian populations are concentrated, hundreds of industrial plants were built which fundamentally changed the character of these regions and by many economic indicators brought them close to the average for Czechoslovakia.

In the process of building a developed socialist society, protecting the legal and political equal rights of our nations and nationalities is proceeding successfully. This process has two main aspects: guaranteeing equal rights to all citizens regardless of their national origin, and guaranteeing equal rights to nations and national minorities as specific socioethnic units. Under

our conditions, the second aspect, chiefly, had notable gaps--until the adoption of the constitutional law on federation.

Together with the law on Czechoslovak federation there was also adopted the constitutional law "On the Position of Nationalities in the CSSR." Compared with the previous situation, the adoption of this law meant a notable step forward. Constitutional Law No 144 properly reflects the position of nationalities in our society, comprehensively formulates their rights and creates a suitable basis for their clear and independent development. On the basis of this law the Czech National Council and Slovak National Council set up committees on nationality affairs and the national governments formed councils for nationalities as advisory and initiatory bodies whose mission is to observe the life of national minorities and refer any urgent problems of their life to the appropriate agencies for resolution. The CPCZ is working to have all national minorities take an active part in the political life and in the administration and management of our socialist society. It is concerned with seeing that they are properly represented on the national committees and their staffs as well as in the highest legislative bodies of the republics and federation.

Through its policies the CPCZ is also allowing for cultural self-expression by national minorities. Our socialist society guarantees minorities the full right of education in their native languages and members of the various minorities the full right of education in their native languages and members of the various minorities are utilizing this right. To meet the needs of the minorities newspapers and literature are published and radio broadcasts given in their native languages, and there is even television for our Hungarian fellow citizens. The Hungarian, Ukrainian and Polish nationalities have their own professional theaters and professional and semiprofessional musical ensembles. Popular artistic creativity is fostered on a broad scale. Ethnic cultural associations organize rich cultural and educational activities. Literature and other elements of culture are expanding. The rich cultural life of our minorities clearly demonstrates that they enjoy equal rights in our society.

Together with internationalist and patriotic education and education about Czechoslovakia's mutuality, the party has always led a high-principled struggle against nationalism and its manifestations. This task was unusually urgent in order to overcome the consequences of the crisis development when antisocialist, rightist-opportunist and revisionist forces made broad use precisely of nationalism in their attacks against the party, socialism and the Soviet Union. The aggressive ideological work of the party and the disclosure of the harm of nationalism led to consolidation of the socialist consciousness of the workers. The ideological struggle against remnants of nationalism in every national arena continues, however, to be urgent.

The results we have achieved in building socialism show that the CPCZ policy on national minorities has been successful and, taken as a whole, brought about outstanding results. In a relatively short historical period we succeeded in eliminating oppression and inequality of nationalities, overcoming the socioeconomic and cultural backwardness of Slovakia, and elevating the

CSSR to the level of the most developed countries of the world. In the process of building and developing socialist society both nations and the national minorities experienced a rebirth and their economic position, socioclass structure, political and ideological-cultural profile underwent a fundamental change. Our nations and national minorities became socialist. Socialism enabled the Czech nation to develop fully its capabilities and creative potential in all areas of life. An intense dynamism characterizes the development of the Slovak nation, which transformed itself into a mature and modern nation only under the aegis of socialism and on its foundations. Socialism also made qualitative changes in the features of the national minorities, which transformed themselves into individual socioethnic units and are firmly bound to Czechoslovakia with all their might. In the process of socialist development relations among the nations and nationalities have also undergone qualitative changes. Mutual distrust, rancor, national dissension and friction are forever a thing of the past. Relations among them are now based on the principles of equality, equal rights, mutual assistance and comradely cooperation.

8491

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

FOREIGN, INNER-GERMAN POLICY ASSESSED

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 14 Jan 85 p 3

[Commentary by Richard Swartz, Viennese correspondent: "A Dangerous Game with Narrow Margins"]

[Text] At a time when Bonn is being accused of "seeking revenge" by the East and the West is also disturbed by West German politicians talking about the "open German question," it is worth noting something observed by few people: it is the other Germany, Erich Honecker's GDR, that is the active and anxious partner in the rapprochement between the two German states.

The fact that Honecker was forced to cancel his visit to the Federal Republic has not changed anything in the political considerations lying behind the transformation in the last few years that has turned the GDR from a self-sufficient enclosed fortress into a militant advocate of detente and opening up to the West. The political strategy has not changed a bit in spite of Honecker's (and Moscow's) formal cancellation on 4 September; in government offices and ministries in East Berlin one can now find evidence of how strongly rooted this strategy is, a strategy for which Honecker seems to be both the symbolic figure and the chief architect.

Retreat

The background for this is that the GDR needs the Federal Republic in almost every area. The people of East Germany continue to find their dreams and their yardstick there, and not in the East, as materialized by the TV programs that come in from the West, and by gift packages or visits from relatives.

The East German citizen will never identify with or measure himself against Kowalski in Warsaw or Ivanov in Moscow as long as there is Herr Mueller in Hamburg: in that way an alternative is constantly intruding on the East German community, a kind of phantom image that is German and therefore penetrates far into the most private sphere. It is almost impossible for the GDR regime to compete with this alternative.

The fact that the government can point to the highest standard of living in the East bloc, an increasingly relaxed relationship with the country's own

history and a less Prussian military social climate than there used to be simply indicates some success in a rear-guard action--the truth is that the regime is beating a political retreat.

#### Unwilling to Pay the Price

But at the same time it would be impossible to slam the door on the West. In particular the younger generation that will soon dominate East German society would make that impossible--a generation that has lost its parents' fears and material evaluations, that is curious about the world and for whom the war and the struggle against fascism are ancient history.

The only way that a return to the old system could be obtained would be at the price of massive repression. And the regime will not pay that price; Honecker himself would undoubtedly like to go down in history as a kind of national patriarch or at least as a politician who was able to combine Soviet Marxism-Leninism with German patriotism to some extent.

But that can only be done by leading the invisible and silent public opinion that is mounting steadily. That is the only way Honecker and the party can possibly put on the brakes somewhat, channel public opinion in the direction they want. The primary motive was political self-preservation and the subsequent process has been under way for the last few years in the GDR.

#### Dangerous Game

The lack of an alternative explains the mixture of boldness and resignation that characterizes this political strategy (if you can't beat them, join them). Allowing almost 40,000 citizens to emigrate in 1984 displayed resignation about the chances of winning over large groups to the real socialist society, while at the same time it was a bold move.

What guarantee is there that such an emigration will lighten the internal political pressure? What guarantee is there that it will not instead create a pull, a desperate determination on the part of growing numbers of people like those who are still sitting inside West German embassies here and there in Eastern Europe?

Therefore Honecker is playing a dangerous game with very narrow margins. But if he and his party leadership ever need any persuasion it is probably enough to recall the half million (!) applications to leave the GDR for good that it is estimated the East German authorities have received. If one knows anything about the persecution and the social ostracism that automatically follow in the wake of such an application one can surmise that this is only the tip of an iceberg the size of which no one can determine precisely.

#### Red Carpet for Strauss

But it is this tip that is the weightiest argument for Honecker's policy on the West: only by recognizing as many of the citizens' dreams as possible,



only by expanding ties with the other Germany can the regime hope to bring about a certain amount of political stability in the GDR in the long run.

At least since 1983 we can note several things that show that the regime in East Berlin understands that and is making it government policy. In the government's effort to broaden contacts over the entire political spectrum in the Federal Republic (and along with them the chances of getting future credits), astounded East Germans saw Franz Josef Strauss getting the red carpet treatment, the same Strauss who has always served as the incarnation of aggressive imperialism and capitalism. In a great many areas the dialogue between the two German states has intensified, often discreetly as if people are anxious not to call too much attention to what is going on.

The collapse of the negotiations in Geneva on limiting medium-range missiles was a hard test for Honecker's strategy. His reaction to NATO's start on deployment was also close to sensational: "jetzt erst recht" (roughly, "it's high time") that detente is guaranteed, Honecker explained following a military feat that Moscow had already said would lead to a political "ice age" in Europe.

#### Displeasure in Moscow

Honecker realized, of course, that such an "ice age" would destroy the entire strategy he is developing; that is why he talked about the need to "limit the damage," which in plain language means not allowing military actions to affect the political and economic ties between East and West. "Mutual responsibility" is the name of the very precise formula with which he hoped to keep the dialogue between the two German states outside the climate of international politics--a formula that could be easily decoded in Moscow and is regarded by hardliners as the beginning of insubordination.

While displeasure mounted in Moscow Honecker hastened to reform his Politburo. In May Werner Jarowsky, Gunther Kleiber, Herbert Haber and Gunther Schabowski were appointed as new members: Jarowsky and Kleiber are totally dedicated to Honecker's economic policy, Haber is the co-architect of the "German policy" and Schabowski is editor in chief of the party organ, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, which functions as Honecker's very militant mouthpiece. His "crown prince," Egon Krenz, joined the Politburo earlier and took over responsibility for security matters from Honecker's old rival, Paul Verner--right under Moscow's nose Honecker showed that he was serious and demonstratively strengthened his own position with the help of people who represent power in key sectors in East Germany.

In this way he also made it extremely difficult for Moscow to try and set a faction in the party leadership against him: that is how Walter Ulbricht was brought down when he opposed the rapprochement between Moscow and Bonn that was made possible by the new "Oestpolitik" of the Social Democrats.



## Needed Help

During the early summer there came the almost sanguine and deliberate campaign of talks with western politicians, interviews and moves intended to culminate with the visit to the Federal Republic, a manifestation of East Berlin's new political strategy. Nothing came of this in the end.

Did Honecker overestimate his political leeway? Or did he misjudge the power constellation in Moscow? We can only speculate about that, but it is quite certain that Bonn--intentionally or due to incompetence--did not make it easier for him.

For after Moscow's, Warsaw's and Prague's separate ideological salvos turned into a crossfire of arguments against the visit it became obvious that Honecker needed help. What he needed was something that could convince his distrustful allies that the planned visit would help secure peace in Europe, that it was not just an internal affair between the two German states.

Honecker needed to justify himself: some form of progress with respect to a nonaggression agreement might have helped him and West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher was not averse to the idea. "Security partnership" was Honecker's very exact term for what he hoped to achieve and what was necessary for him; when Chancellor Helmut Kohl explained that he intended to discuss "environmental issues" with his guest the visit was definitely ruled out.

The trip was shelved, certainly just as much for reasons of pure political self-preservation as because of a directly expressed veto from Moscow.

## Order Restored

With the cancelled trip Moscow underlined that it considered itself to have a monopoly on all forms of "German policy"; the small East European states must not imagine that they have a right to make any independent security policy moves. The hierarchy and order were restored; at the GDR's 35th anniversary as a state last fall Andrey Gromyko acted like a benevolent prince inspecting a vassal state, an anniversary that was also meant to demonstrate the result of World War II, namely Germany's defeat and Russia's elevation to the only great power in Europe.

But the vassal is not as subservient as it used to be. It can still be put in its place, but Moscow no longer has any good answers to these questions: How do you expect us to be able to guarantee discipline and stability here in the future if we are not allowed to have our own "German policy"? Are you planning to give us the future credit we need from the West?

What do you intend to do to soothe our citizens after you scared them by deploying your nuclear weapons here? And how do you think we can meet our commitments to you and CEMA (COMECON) unless we gain far more widespread access to western technology than is now the case?

## Raising the Ante

Moscow has no good answers to such questions and Honecker knows it. That is why he is betting on the Moscow faction that wants to return to the policy of detente. Like a poker player who believes he has better cards in his own hand, Honecker is not afraid to raise the ante.

He is convinced that the present indecisiveness in Moscow will end in defeat for the supporters of self-containment and confrontation; he does not even dare to think about the other possibility. What happened therefore is a random setback, nothing to necessitate a change in course, and in this assessment he seems to have the entire political establishment as well as the citizens of East Germany behind him.

Honecker has never been as popular among the people as he was last summer; in this respect Gromyko's "victory" in East Berlin in the fall can be compared to a Pyrrhic victory. At the same time the differences between Moscow and East Berlin have taken on an almost piquant personal dimension and have turned into a private quarrel between two stubborn elderly gentlemen, Andrey Gromyko and Erich Honecker.

## Sober Assessment of the United States

But in a more general analysis too the vassal feels it has a more realistic picture of reality, namely the reality of the balance of forces in the world. There is no prestige consideration in the GDR (and the rest of Eastern Europe) that obscures a sober assessment of the actual strength of the United States and the West, opponents who are much stronger politically, economically, militarily and morally than the East's own propaganda indicates.

With some nervousness it has also been noted that several countries in the Third World are in the midst of an impressive economic development under the sign of capitalism while some of their own allies like Vietnam, Cuba, Angola and Laos are begging for alms and have become an economic burden on the socialist camp.

In the GDR and Eastern Europe, capitalist vitality has also been thrown into sharp relief by the obvious evidence of real socialism's own crisis--it is with the greatest discomfort that responsible GDR officials talk about the necessity of "economic integration" with countries like Poland and Romania. From their perspective the global test of strength is far from having been decided once and for all in favor of real socialism.

## Course Maintained

Therefore the rest of the world should anticipate that Erich Honecker's political course will be maintained, that it is dictated by internal developments in the GDR and that therefore it is more likely to become stronger than weaker with the passage of time. If the GDR wants to remain a stable country the standard of living must rise steadily in the long run and the gap between it and the other Germany must not become too great.

If the GDR wants to remain a moderately strong industrial nation it must be careful not to lose touch with the very rapid economic and technological developments that are now taking place in a number of areas in the West. If it wants to have fairly contented citizens the window opening on the other Germany must be opened even wider, little by little.

And if Moscow does not want to risk a future crisis in the GDR--compared to which the crisis in Poland would look like a tempest in a teapot--it must accept Honecker's continuation of what he has begun.

#### No Alternative

As we pointed out earlier this is a political strategy that involves great dangers for both East Berlin and Moscow. There is a risk that it could work counter to its intention; that it could lead to the GDR's economy being undermined and demoralized instead of being strengthened.

But East Berlin is already convinced that there is no alternative. Perhaps Moscow does not see any alternative either--in which case this is a reminder that it is not just the United States and its allies who are having problems with "their" Germany.

6578

CSO: 3650/148

HUNGARY

HUNGARIAN MILITARY EXERCISE DESCRIBED

LD281958 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 28 Jan 85

[Excerpt] As we have already announced, the designated troops and staff of the Hungarian People's Army, in accordance with their annual training plan, are carrying out a tactical exercise together with reservists. Budapest Radio correspondent Gabor Dombovari reports:

The tactical exercises in the designated areas of the country are well underway. I am talking with Lieutenant Colonel (Laszlo Legradi). What was more difficult, to overcome the weather or to carry out the task?

[(Legradi)] The weather has caused more difficulty now, during this exercise, although these tactical exercises always demand very serious preparation. We soldiers say that the tactical exercise is a test with great significance as well as being a school at the same time. It is a test because (?through) it we can give an account of the effectiveness of the preparatory and training work. It is a school because we can practice our tasks in a situation which most approaches reality.

[Dombovari] I think it is essential (?to mention) that military technology is perhaps one of the most rapidly changing and fastest developing technologies in the world. Thus, these exercises are necessary for the reservists--in this case--to get acquainted with the freshest, the most modern technology. Reservists are here in good number.

[(Legradi)] One of the aims of calling up the reservists, and their participation in exercises is that they should adjust to the changes which have occurred since their last military service, that they should become familiar with the new technology and that they should practice the handling of new technology.

[Dombovari] Has any extraordinary event occurred, that is, has there been any accident?

[(Legradi)] Well, touch wood, so far nothing has happened. The soldiers carry out their work in a very disciplined way, observing safety regulations, despite the fact that on an occasion like this, under such difficult weather conditions, the sources of danger are greater and more numerous.

[Dombovari] Which is more difficult to handle, the professional soldiers, the conscripts, or the reservists, who, after all, are here rather as civilians?

[(Legradi)] At a time like this everybody thinks the reservists are more difficult to handle because they were soldiers before the others. The past few days prove that they do their work with great responsibility and very seriously and have made up within days what they might perhaps have forgotten. Almost no distinction can be made because they carry out their work with such uniform expertise and responsibility.

CSO: 2500/199

HUNGARY

NEW LAW ESTABLISHES COMPULSORY WORKHOUSES FOR WORKSHIRKERS

Budapest HETIVILAGGAZDASAG in Hungarian 8 Dec 84 36-37

[Article by Endre Babus: "Strictly Controlled KMK [Workshirkers Endangering the Public Good]"

[Text] A Presidential Council decree which will be effective on 1 January provides stricter punishment for workshirkers. So called semisecurity institutes are being opened in Hungary in 1985 to compel shirkers to work. The KMK law valid on 1 January 1985--Decree No 19 of 1984 with the power of law--will introduce work compulsion of earlier memory for workshirkers who endanger the public good. "The present statutory provisions do not make it possible to take strong action against shirkers" the Presidential Council stated in justification of the decree. Therefore, the maximum 1-year loss of freedom has been doubled, and at the same time a new punishment was coopted--expressly for workshirkers--into the penal code, the so-called stricter correctional-educational work.

The new institution is undoubtedly more liberal than its workhouse predecessors which were done away with in 1950 and which recalled Dickens-like memories. The punishment is for a shorter period of time--reduced from 1 to 5 years to 1 to 3 years and the institute discipline is less strict. The convict must work at the designated workplace and live at the designated quarters, but after working hours he may, with permission, leave until taps the premises of the institute--for this reason called semisecurity--which is under the supervision of the Penal Administration Command

The new KMK law, however, is similar to Article 21 of 1913 calling for the establishment of workhouses "to withdraw from circulation" the workshirke workshirkers for as long a period as possible, and try to accustom them to do work. Obviously, this is the goal that is served by several rules even more strict than the loss of freedom. Above all, that suspension of the sentence and a conditional granting of freedom will not be practiced at such an institute, and moreover the duration can be no less than 1 year, while in prisons and jails the minimum is only 3 to 6 months.

According to legal experts, the introduction of stricter correctional-educational work in Hungarian penal policy may be regarded as a new stage in the stricter order that has been under implementation for a number of years.

The increasing degree of strictness, which is obviously related to the crime increase is being implemented, of course, primarily against those who are following a criminal way of life.

The introduction of stricter penalties under the "loafers' law" is justified, to be sure, by an increase in the number of KMK. But a particular increase in this respect is not indicated by the crime statistics. It is true that the KMK have a legal form that is more lenient than for crimes, namely the workshirkers' rule infractions that endanger public safety, but no considerable increase in registrations has occurred in this category either.

It is at present still easy to differentiate between rule infraction and crime: the first calling to account for workshirking is always a rule infraction, and it is regarded as a crime only if the person charged was already punished for KMK. The degree of this punishment will change in the following year. According to the new law, permanent pursuit of a workshirking way of life is to be regarded as a crime even when someone is first arrested on this charge. The law, however, does not define what is the minimal time that makes the pursuit classifiable as permanent. The penal code paragraph which speaks of the KMK has become a guideline type of rule, the substance of which is not fixed beforehand by written norms but rather by judicial practice (see our guidelines).

As a result of this stricter law that is broken down into several steps, a workshirker who has been arrested for the first time--and who until 31 December may receive a 1-month incarceration as the maximum--may receive after 1 January either 2 years of imprisonment or stricter correctional-educational work. It is the justification of the law that the KMK are frequently first called to responsibility only after a long time, sometimes after a number of years, and in such cases the short period of punishment is not enough to accustom the convict to work habits.

Table. The Development in Hungary of Crimes and Rule Infractions by Workshirkers Endangering the Public Good

<u>Years</u>	<u>Number of KMK Crimes</u>	<u>Number of Those Convicted for KMK Rule Infractions</u>
1970	1054	2379
1971	1106	n.a.
1972	1107	n.a.
1973	1204	n.a.
1974	1014	2673
1975	1010	2518
1976	1263	3137
1977	1180	2636
1978	1091	2636
1979	1042	3106
1980	1106	2926
1981	1077	2912
1982	1193	2858
1983	1105	3093

The Ministry of Justice prepared this year a review of the workshirkers sentenced by courts in 1983. On the basis of the data in the study, 3.4 percent of the KMK were illiterate, 91.9 percent had finished general school, 4.7 percent had finished high school and none had a degree in higher education. But since the study did not extend to workshirkers punished by the police, we do not know how the social composition of total work shirkers actually developed. It should be known, however, that beginning next year, at least according to present plans, those sentenced to stricter correctional-educational work will be employed in groups of 150 and 200 at several state firms that are struggling with serious manpower shortage problems. The Ministry of Justice has already agreed on this with the Hungarian State Railways, which will assign, it is expected, convicted KMK to cleaning trains, repairing and reloading cars. And according to reports, their employment is also being considered by Ganz-Mavag and the Veszprem Coal Mine Enterprise.

Extract from the 1970 Jozsefvaros Lexicon--Workhouse

The Pest "Compulsory Workhouse" was an employment-discipline institute at which, in addition to unemployed, youth were kept who were difficult to educate. Arrangements were made by the police for an indefinite period of time, which could not be less than 1 year. Strict discipline prevailed at the institute; talking was forbidden at work, prisoners who escaped and were caught were publicly cudgelled. The Pest Workhouse began operating in 1843 in Terezvaros, but since the building proved to be too small the Kubinyi house at the corner of Kerepesi (Rakoczi) Street and Vas Street was remodelled in 1844 for this purpose. The house had a yard of 1,025 square meters which was surrounded by a high stone fence. The workhouse operated here until 1879, and then it was transferred to a new workhouse that had been built on Kun Street. Paragraph 65 of Law No XL of 1879 terminated workhouses and on 17 February, 1883 the new workhouse was transformed into the Kun Street Hospital--now the Eva Kallai Hospital. The old workhouse building which was torn down about 1930 operated after 1874 as the affiliate hospital of the Rokus Hospital. (Source: Ferenc Rokken: "The Pest Compulsory Workhouse, History," 1930, 4-6 pp 82-87.)

The Penal Code (paragraph 266) puts it laconically: "KMK are those persons capable of work who pursue a life of shirking work." The justification for the law somewhat foreshadows the concept when it states that this crime can be established only for a person "who does not accept work and does not have the material goods necessary to assure his livelihood." But on the basis of this penal code commentary, a commonly understood and exact reply can hardly be given to the question: Who are those people in Hungary who shirk work and thereby endanger the public good? Two basic factual elements are not defined in paragraph 266:

--What length of work inactivity is classifiable as a workshirker's mode of life?

--What is the minimum sum which is sufficient according to the authorities for a livelihood?



The answer to these questions--given the lack of written rules--can be attempted with more or less accuracy only on the basis of judicial practice.

According to present sentencing practice, 1 to 2 months of workshirking is enough to bring charges for KMK. But jurists deliberating KMK cases emphasize that they establish this crime only if the workshirker is endangering the public good. According to the authorities such endangerment exists for the most part when the person charged shows morally blameworthy behavior (for example, loafing, gambling, frequenting saloons) or if in addition to workshirking other violations of the law are committed, for example, begging or being kept. But penal procedures cannot be started, according to the law, against those who--even for months--are seeking work if their work relation was terminated because of enterprise or state work force reductions. Also, those who live on an inheritance, winnings or savings cannot be charged with KMK. On the other hand, a Budapest court found guilty a young girl who was capable of working but was supported by her parents because she would not accept employment after she completed her studies, spending her time instead mostly on reading.

Court practice has not worked out--according to many experts--the size of the minimal sum necessary for a livelihood. Thus there is no accepted minimum where KMK might come into consideration. (It should be noted that in social welfare the lowest legal pension, at present 1,800 forints, is used as a synonym for the minimum subsistence level.) In any event, a basis for the minimum livelihood sum required by the authorities may be represented by the fact that in the case of taxable income of 3,000 forints a month the councils enter in personal certificate identity papers the term of freely employed work relation. Of course, this cannot be the solution when someone is not paying taxes on wages for occasional labor, which happens quite often in the case of those performing occasional work. In such cases the police must establish whether the suspect has actually worked at the place of the employer named. Judicial practice does not generally regard occasional work performed once or twice a week--such as market loading--as adequate to assure a livelihood.

6691

CSO: 2500/153

HUNGARY

BRIEFS

**HUNGARIAN-ROMANIAN TOURISM AGREEMENT**--Hungarian-Romanian tourism talks were held in Budapest from 11 to 17 January. The delegations were led by Miklos Andriko, state secretary for domestic trade, and Costache Zmeu, deputy tourism minister. The two sides agreed to develop every form of tourism between the two countries, that is to say, both individual and group tourism. The travel agencies will work out new programs, among them ski-tours in the Romanian mountains, and seaside vacations. The supply of information to tourists will be improved. The delegations signed the tourism cooperation agreement for 1986-1990 which provides for an annual 10 percent increase in mutual tourism. Costache Zmeu was received by Zoltan Juhar, minister of domestic trade and chairman of the National Tourism Council. The Romanian delegation left Hungary on 17 January. [Text] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 18 Jan 85 p 5 AU]

**NEW ROMANIAN-LANGUAGE JOURNAL**--A new publication has appeared in Gyula: the Romanian-language journal on cultural history called TIMPURI [TIMES]. The new journal, published under the auspices of the Democratic Federation of Romanians in Hungary, promises to appear once a year and sets itself the task of acquainting Romanians in Hungary with the cultural life of their predecessors. The almanac-type local and cultural history journal carries in its first number, among other things, essays on the Romanians in Bihar, on the Transylvanian Hungarian's democratic movement at the end of 1944, and the mother tongue usage of the Romanians living on the other side of the Tisza. The first issue of the new Romanian-language journal, published in 1,000 copies, also reproduces several Kohan paintings as an illustration to the article on the Kossuth-Prize-laureate painter of Gyula. The editor of TIMPURI is Tiberiu Herdean, a teacher at the Debrecen Teacher's Training College. TIMPURI and its copublication IZVORUL, an ethnographic journal that began to appear several years ago, are without precedent in the domestic press. [Text] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 23 Jan 85 p 5 AU]

**KESZTHELY TELEVISION PROGRAM**--Budapest, 28 Jan (MTI)--The city television of Keszthely is to broadcast its first, experimental programme on February 25. The editorial board of the local studio has been set up and a network of correspondents from local institutes and companies established. Since 1978 two cable and aerial systems have been established in the city, so two-thirds of the population in 5,300 flats will have access to the total programme broadcast from a studio equipped at the University of Agrarian Sciences. The Keszthely television, similarly to the TV stations of Zalaegerszeg and Nagykanizsa, is to start its regular broadcasts in April, on the 40th anniversary of the liberation of Hungary. [Excerpt] [Budapest MTI in English 0631 GMT 29 Jan 85 LD]

POLAND

REMARKS BY U.S. OFFICIAL SPARK STRONG REBUTTAL

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 8 Jan 85 p 1

[Interview with Stanislaw Dlugosz, deputy chairman of the Government Planning Commission, by Tomasz Bartoszewicz: "Arrogance or Ignorance?"]

[Text] Question: On 1 January 1985, the U.S. Government-run radio station, the Voice of America, carried a report on a meeting with M. Palmer, a deputy assistant secretary of state, which dealt with U.S. policy toward Poland, among other things. Would you like to comment on this statement?

Answer: If the Voice of America account is accurate, we are here dealing with another attempt to interfere in Poland's internal affairs. In my opinion, this is dictated by the U.S. administration's irritation with the fact that despite the restrictions imposed on Poland since December 1981 it has not been possible to stifle the Polish economy and that, notwithstanding all the difficulties, we are slowly beginning to emerge from the crisis.

Mr Palmer publicized the economic assistance allegedly provided to Poland by the United States in the last few years, insisting that it totaled \$110 million. I assume that \$100 million is the estimated value of assistance in form of parcels and the rest (\$10 million) is probably the amount promised to the possible future Farm Foundation. I wouldn't like to discuss the parcels, which were originally regarded as an element of charitable activity. When you, however, consider that Poland's private farms have some 11 million hectares of (arable) land, then the \$10 million, earmarked by Congress for Polish farming, works out at less than \$1 per hectare.

In this context let me just remind you that in 1981 Poland received \$500 million in cash from the USSR as a nonrepayable loan (independent of all other forms of assistance) which we could spend on imports.

Question: Mr Palmer spoke rather irreverently about the most favored nation clause...

Answer: His statement on this issue can be regarded either as a sign of big-power arrogance or of ignorance. Personally, I suspect that this is a case of "ignorance on demand" because I find it hard to believe that an official of that rank really would not know the matter in depth.

For a start, let's make it clear that the MFN clause is no special privilege or a unilateral U.S. concession but the ordinary customs and commercial status applied by a great majority of countries in mutual economic relations. Mr Palmer's statement is another sign that the United States attempts to exploit the MFN instrument as a tool of exerting political pressures in the development of economic relations.

Question: How would you comment on Mr Palmer's assertion that "there is no international regulation requiring the award of the MFN status"?

Answer: In this case it can only be his ignorance. After all, both Poland and the United States are parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which envisages unconditional application of the MFN status in its Article 1.

Question: Until quite recently, representatives of the U.S. administration were "delighted" with the efficiency of the policy of restrictions, from their point of view, of course. Now they insist that the restrictions did not cause major losses. Why the change?

Answer: The main reason must be the ineffectiveness of the policy of restrictions, which did not succeed in altering the policy of the Polish Government. However, going back to what Mr Palmer said, we can accept that international law does not require any state to provide credit to another country. However, there is the general principle which says "pacta sunt servanda." In this context I wish to remind you that Poland has signed many agreements with Western countries which remain valid and which envisage credits and financial cooperation on the most convenient terms. From this point of view the decision of the NATO Council of 11 January 1982 which de facto blocked credits and financial cooperation with Poland, was a violation of these principles. This blockade resulted in a dramatic fall in imports from capitalist countries. This, in fact, was its objective in the first place: to lead to a collapse of the Polish economy.

Question: Mr Palmer was quoted as saying: "As regards the claims of the Polish Government about huge losses, I think this charge is simply ridiculous," and quoted "reputable economists specializing in Polish economy."

Answer: I don't know what experts and economists Mr Palmer had in mind. Serious scientific institutes, such as the Wharton Institute, for example, confirm that the restrictions led to huge losses. Besides, there is an authoritative opinion of the UN Economic Commission for Europe of last December which clearly states that the deep fall in imports, resulting from the restrictions, subsequently produced considerable repercussions both in Polish industrial and farming production.

For Mr Palmer these losses may be ridiculous but I wish to remind him that when the restrictions were being imposed, U.S. administration representatives said outright that they were interested in causing such losses. Needless to say, they were guided by purely political motives. Only now are economic arguments being added.

Question: The U.S. authorities are now talking about the need to prepare a "special program" for Poland's economic recovery and of introducing appropriate reforms. What do you say to that?

Answer: These instructions are redundant. Already now the Polish Government is consistently introducing a broad economic reform, gradually improving the instruments used for this purpose, while at the same time retaining in full the socialist character of Poland's economy. As for Poland's economic cooperation with other countries, Mr Palmer's statement is another indirect confirmation of the correctness of the government program of developing cooperation with socialist countries, based on the decision of last year's Comecon summit, and on constantly improved instruments of socialist integration.

The long-range strategy of Poland's economic development is also defined by the programs of economic, scientific and technological cooperation until 2000 that we have already agreed upon with the USSR and most of the remaining Comecon countries.

CSO: 2600/542

POLAND

# CELEBRATION OF 40 YEARS OF USSR DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS NOTED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 4 Jan 85 p 5

[Article by Krzysztof Koprowski: "A Productive and Proven Alliance"]

[Text] On 5 January, 40 years ago, the Soviet Foreign Affairs Ministry sent a message to the Provisional Government of the Polish Republic informing it that the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium recognized the Provisional Government on 4 January 1945, and appointed V. Z. Lebedev as ambassador to Poland. This act officially established diplomatic relations between the two countries. On the next day the chairman of the National People's Council [KRN] named Zygmunt Modzelewski as Polish ambassador to the Soviet Union.

This was undoubtedly an important and even critical moment, marking new prospects for bilateral relations and simultaneously ending a certain stage in their history.

Let us examine briefly the period preceding this event. "The great task of rebuilding Polish-Soviet relations, in accordance with the real interests of the Polish people," wrote Professor W. T. Kowalski in the collective work "Poland-USSR. Past and Present International Cooperation," "was assumed by the Union of Polish Patriots [ZPP], established in March 1943 by Polish communist activists in the USSR. Its historical contribution was the creation of the Polish Army, which was to put into practice the idea of a Polish-Soviet alliance. The ZPP undertook a program of liberating the nation and building a democratic Poland in an alliance with the Soviet Union. In the same year, 1943, the Tadeusz Kosciuszko First Infantry Division received its combat christening near Lenino. Then the Polish Army, fighting with the Soviet forces, took part in the liberation of Polish lands, in order to participate in the 1945 occupation of Berlin. The first trade agreement, marking the beginning of bilateral economic relations between Poland and the USSR, was signed on 20 October 1944. It was, at the same time, the first trade agreement concluded by the Polish people's state and the first document of its kind signed by the USSR with a people's democratic state."

On 31 December 1944, after more than 5 months of activity in liberated areas of the country, the Polish Committee of National Liberation [PKWN] was transformed into the Provisional Government. The main foreign policy

objective was friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union. Five days later the Polish regime was officially recognized by the USSR, which was decisive in strengthening the people's rule in Poland in its aim of international recognition. However, the first official appearance of the new Polish regime abroad was the visit of the Polish delegation to Moscow on 22-24 January. At Poland's initiative, the "Pact of Friendship, Mutual Aid and Post-war Cooperation Between the Polish Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" was concluded 3 months later, on 21 April 1945.

Thus the alliance, based on the fraternity of arms and mutual sacrifice (600,000 Soviet soldiers fell on Polish soil), was consolidated. It was supported in this period by Soviet food and technical aid for the revitalization of Warsaw, for Lodz and other towns and for the start-up of Silesian mines and factories, etc.

The creation in 1949 of the Council of Mutual Economic Aid, of which both countries were cofounders, and 6 years later on 14 May 1955 of the Warsaw Pact served to deepen cooperation between Poland and the USSR and at the same time to expand it.

During the National Conference of Delegates of the PZPR in 1984, Wojciech Jaruzelski said on this subject: "This alliance is and will be a guarantee of socialist Poland's national survival. Parallel with our own defense potential, it is the treaty, military and political foundation of the inviolability of our borders." At a rally in Ryazan' last year he stated: "We will always protect Polish-Soviet friendship as an important and valuable possession."

Contacts between the two nations today involve almost all areas of life. Lively cooperation is developing in industry and agriculture, foreign trade and trade in border regions, culture and art, science and technology, and education and the health service. Political and social organizations, towns and provinces (districts), and friendship societies are developing direct contacts, and work establishments and their staffs are developing close contacts. The rich tradition of cultural cooperation occupies a special place with regard to its role in mutual appreciation. In addition, cooperation in science guarantees Poland access to the latest achievements of Soviet science and technology and provides for group exchange of students, doctoral candidates and specialists. Direct, close contacts bind the academies of science and universities of both nations.

Cooperation with our eastern neighbor also plays a decisive role in Poland's economic development. The Soviet Union is not only Poland's largest trade partner (in the sense of trade value), but also the largest source of raw materials and production materials, the main contractor trading in investment equipment, and the largest in cooperative collaboration. Recently, the USSR has also become the main creditor nation.

The USSR supplies 100 percent of Poland's imported gas and pig iron. In this market we buy 98 percent of Poland's imported asbestos, 89 percent of petroleum, 81 percent of iron ore, 78 percent of aluminum, 75 percent

of cotton and many other essential raw materials. At the same time, thanks to Soviet aid and cooperation, not only were we able to raise the nation from ruin in the first post-war years, but also to create in time many entirely new and advanced branches of industry, which over the years became our national specialties: the shipbuilding, aviation, mining machinery and road construction machinery industries. Currently, the Soviet market receives about 40 percent of Poland's exported machinery and equipment.

The attitude of the USSR to Poland's recent economic problems may be characterized in three words: leniency, goodwill and consistency. When our commercial credibility was undermined in the West, and then credits were limited and suspended and restrictions applied, the USSR responded immediately with above-plan deliveries of our most needed raw materials and goods, including consumer goods. It also delivered above-plan raw materials to so-called service processing, which guaranteed our plants the use of free production forces, work for the people, and finished products for the market. Moreover, the Soviet Union offered to share in the continuation of current investments; it allotted us our hardest foreign currency for the repayment of our debts, and also granted us a nonrepayable loan in dollars.

The Soviet Union granted us credits in 1981-1982 for the purchase of goods, although earlier, toward the end of the 1970's, we were already in debt in this area. When it turned out that we were unable to begin repaying our foreign debts, the Soviet authorities again came to our aid. We agreed that in the next 5-year plan we would repay only 1 percent (a total of about 1 billion rubles) of the negotiated loans and postpone repayment of the debts until after 1991. Mutual trade should be balanced in 1986-1990, although there will be a negative trade balance in the first 3 years of the next 5-year plan.

Last year was very productive for bilateral relations. "The Long-term Program of Development of Economic and Scientific and Technical Cooperation Between the PRL and USSR to the Year 2000" was signed in May. The chairman of the USSR State Planning Commission, Vice Premier Nikolay Baybakov, visited Poland in September, and on 10-14 December we hosted a delegation of Soviet representatives of science and technology, led by Vice Premier Gurgiy Marchuk. Also in December, in Moscow, the ministers of foreign trade of both nations, Tadeusz Nestorowicz and Nikolay Patolichev, signed a protocol for commodity turnover and payments in 1985.

Polish-Soviet cooperation is acquiring a new dimension. The friendship of both nations and their people has been proven in the most difficult tests. Life has confirmed its great significance.

12421

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POLAND

REASONS GIVEN FOR MULTIPLICITY OF POLITICAL VIEWS

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 8-9 Dec 84 p 3

[Article by Artur Bodnar: "Dispute Over Political Realism"]

[Text] Many disputes are taking place in Poland. Some of them are of a philosophical and ideological character. Many political disputes are heated, and some of them assume the form of a political fight. The reasons for these phenomena lie in various class-strata interests and in the variety of interests of professional and generational groups. Different circles and groups perceive differently the contents of various ideas which organize thinking about public, political, and especially about national matters. The source of many a conflict is the fact that hasty disputes overshadow historical thinking, which in the understanding of Marxists, for example, is at the same time prognostic thinking.

"People become integrated according to shared interests or around symbols," states Prof F. Ryszek. Social communication is based on signs and symbols. In the process of social integration or disintegration both interests and symbols are inseparable elements of these processes, although they do not always go hand in hand. There are situations when symbolic thinking overshadows a sober inspection of interests or simply falsifies it. Such is the case in situations of social tension, in early post-crisis situations, and the like.

I perceive three reasons for which the attitudes and orientations of Poles in public matters are at least in appearance irrational, colored with emotions, and refer to the past and to facts or idea-symbols, even though the social context that brought about these facts or ideas long ago ceased to exist. The first reason is the developing process of the leveling of class-strata differences. These differences, of course, exist, but they are mild. The diffusion of classes and strata living by their own labor is taking place. Existing extremes of want and wealth or even riches do not determine the face of society, rather the vast center of the social structure is very unified and egalitarian. "The more stable the social structure, the harder to define who one is and who they are." This thesis announced by I. Pankow at my seminar reveals the dilemmas of class identification in the conditions of our socialist society, if one ignores the international-national aspect of this problem.

The next reason for the peculiarity of phenomena characterizing the social awareness of Poles is the fact that all generations, each of which has created a certain successive fragment of the history of reborn Poland starting from 1918 up to today, are coexisting. In this respect we are a society quite unique in this part of Europe. This means, however, that there coexist different ideological orientations and different perceptions of social order, although their social base disappeared long ago. Social and political phases in the life of the nation are changing considerably faster than conceptions about them and the symbolism accompanying them, which is usually dressed in the clothes of historical figures.

Finally, the third reason for the multiplicity of orientations is scepticism toward different economic and sociopolitical institutions, their effectiveness, and socially acknowledged efficiency. The basis for this criticism is the crisis and the search for various guarantees against a recurrence of its sources.

In the circumstances mentioned, historical thinking is for some substitute thinking, and thus it is the search for references for their own motivation structure of attitudes and political orientation. For others, historical thinking is thinking for the future, so the future will quite simply be better, more just, and more fully fulfilling of social aspirations. Still others seek an identification with what is national and what is lasting, such as the church, despite contradictions with the national fate. Such a situation leads sometimes to outright mistaken evaluations, as if the church alone cared about the comprehensive shaping of the national awareness of Poles (ZYCIE WARSZAWY No 239/84). Meanwhile, the national awareness of our society is shaped by various subjects, above all the state. The third anniversary of the introduction of martial law in Poland and its course reminds us that for the majority of Poles the framework of their national thinking is created by state awareness. Who would we be today without our own state?

An analysis of ideological-political orientation, which exists in commonplace awareness, can be approached in various ways using, for example, a narrowly understood class criterion. It always has a cognitive value, though it does not always explain fully phenomena taking place on the level of the contemporary nation. Another equally important criterion of the evaluation of a given ideological orientation is its functionality in relation to the socialist value system; and still another criterion is the functionality of a given orientation in relation to the primary interests of the state, and in our case the worker-peasant state.

Roughly speaking, the majority of ideological-political orientations existing presently in Poland can be divided according to the functionality criterion toward the state. From this point of view, we can speak of "state-orientedness" and "national-orientedness." Those of the first group we can find in the ranks of the PZPR and allied parties, and also among people ill-disposed toward real socialism, who give priority, however, to political realities over ideological sentiments. In turn, those of the second group can be found among the opposition or enemies of present-day

Poland, who maintain an ideology of struggle with an unwanted state. There are those who say one can love one's country quite well or even better living somewhere in the West. Using the notion of the fatherland, they fight against it because they fight against its state. They do not take cognizance of the fact that a fight with the state is the same as destroying the fatherland. I wrote at length about this two-sided typology because it is a real phenomenon and shows how variously understood is the fact that Poland lies on the Vistula.

There are also people who say that our nation thinks realistically, but the level of this realism can only be revealed by experience and practice. One should, therefore, undertake the risk of opening "a hundred flowers," state-internal attitudes, which includes attitudes opposed to the leadership. This does not, however, state to the end whether it is a question of the worker-peasant authority in general, represented by existing political organizations, or if one means a concrete plan for decision and action by this authority in different matters significant for public life, but not always political in its essence. The authorities have done a lot in this second matter and by no means have they slammed the door in the face of program opposition, that is, the clashing of different program formulations in concrete, state-internal matters. I think that there are different ways of checking the level of the political realism of the groups and communities of our nation. For me the time between August and December was a period when the trust of the nation was abused by extremist forces that were partially antistate and wholly antisystem. What is the sense in repeating these experiences? Who will agree to this and why? Those prominent in the opposition at that time to this day do not want to analyze the events of this post-August period publicly; they say that it was an episode, so let us start from the beginning with the same leaders, their ideals, and skills. Unfortunately, this is a naive point of view.

It is easy for any opposition to catch fish in the troubled waters of a crisis. There are states, however, where the opposition that counts recognizes the inviolability of specified barriers of class and national interests, because this would mean entering the road of the destruction of its own state. Such is today's political opposition in all the states of Western Europe. This opposition identified itself with its own state, which cannot be said about many of our "uncompromising" groups.

We are at the threshold of creating such institutions as a system of consultation, self-governing bodies and trade unions, the social function of which would be the verification of actions of the political, state, and economic administrations, and as the need arises, its balancing, so that this administration would not harden into mechanisms of purposes and needs which are worn out and would not fulfill both local and branch as well as national needs.

Is this enough? Of course not. The need is, for example, for the promulgation of an understanding of *raison d'etat*, even those oriented toward tomorrow, because then state-internal attitudes, including those contradictory to each other, will be oriented toward the integration of group interests around real questions, not mystified by doctrinaire and political fever.

12432

CSO: 2600/386

POLAND

# SEJM DISASSOCIATED FROM PAST IMAGE, FUNCTIONS

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 21-26 Dec 84 p 3

[Interview with Piotr Stefanski, vice marshal of the Sejm, by Malgorzata Juszczyzyn: "Which Parliamentarism?"]

[Text] [Question] Mr Vice Marshal, we are approaching the end of the year--the end of the Sejm term was announced 2 days ago. It is a time for summarizing, evaluating and examining future possibilities, the choices that lie ahead. Meanwhile, one observes no stirring or interest among the average citizens.

[Answer] I would like to say right off that I generally do not believe in any so-called universal interest. I say this on the basis of my observations not only in recent years as vice marshal of the Sejm, but also drawing on my diplomatic experience of the past, and my observations even earlier as a parliamentary reporter. It is simply that certain laws arouse interest and even passions, but they are distinctly community-specific. It was also the case in this term that the legal profession law and agricultural laws aroused interest. Numerous letters, petitions and even delegations appeared, but they were purely community-specific. It is no accident that so many emotions were stirred up by the amendment to the bill on sober behavior--in the same press was a great number of opinions, often polemical.

But this is a very important matter, and one should remember in speaking of public interests that the degree of complexity of state life is so great that the distance between the laws at the peak of the pyramid and the ordinariness of each man keeps widening. Admittedly, everyone agrees that the matter of state control raised at the last session affects everyone, but everyone knows that the road between what occurs in the Sejm and reality in the shops is long or, in other words, the difference is great.

It would be easier to say that if we could get closer to the problems it would be otherwise, but I permit myself to be a sceptic.

There is virtually no remedy for this distance; it causes concern all over the world. I recall that in my time much was said about the Swiss Parliament, which often called a referendum among the voters. As far as I can see this form of opinion-gathering waned there in attendance and popularity.

This is all related to the fact that a citizen must deal with the form of law manifested by the work style of the office with which he deals daily. We add the general observation that jurisdictional regulations and internal administrations, often "more important" than the law, are decisive here. Hence, there is certainly more sensitivity to how the local administration works than to how the highest organ of state power functions.

[Question] Does only the present day count here or do tradition, experience and the past of Polish parliamentarism play a certain role?

[Answer] Obviously it is significant that people's Poland already had a long period of rubber-stamp parliamentarism, which strengthened the conviction that when the Sejm convenes, it confirms the decisions made earlier. Going back, the whole Second Republic created no traditions convincing us that parliament decides all matters of collective life. Going even further back in history we see (with the one commendable exception of the May 3 Constitution) the domination of private over public interests. All this together strengthened certain opinions about the weakness of our parliamentarism, the remnants of which are present everywhere.

[Question] Also among members of the Sejm?

[Answer] It seems so, although increasingly more rarely today. Members of the Sejm see that citizens seek to contact them not for the public good, but to settle their own personal affairs.

[Question] In a public sense, a member of the Sejm is not as yet a man who decides affairs of state, but someone who intervenes in certain cases. Besides, this was also seen in the television program, "Trybuna Sejmowa," where one of the members of the Sejm from Wielkopolski worried about the water shortage in Gniezno, and another about slow repairs for senior citizens. These are problems for the directors of the ADM and not for a member of parliament, who should rather do something to arrange the work of offices so that no intervention is required. So who will the people vote for in the coming elections? For those intervening for them personally, or for those who will hold the fate of the nation and people in their hands?

[Answer] This is an important problem and can hardly be taken for granted or slighted. Let us remember that since a member's workload in the Sejm was at one time less than it is today, he had more time to tend to the personal matters that the citizens called for. This reinforced the public notion that a member of the Sejm is someone who helps with a personal matter.\* In this term members are so burdened with affairs on Wiejska Street [location of Sejm] that there is much less chance for them to get involved in personal cases. However, members of the Sejm still perform this activity, which is good, because in this way they gain experience and helpful observations while examining more general matters and exercising control. This means that, as a result, they have contact with the people, they are sought out by their voters, and in discussions of one particular theme may express a number of opinions and thoughts, which is very important. However, speaking of a member's various responsibilities, it is worth emphasizing that, given each member's current duties, the fact that

they must reconcile their performed functions with their professional work should lead to the suggestion that in the future at least some of them should be on leave from professional work in order to cope fully with everything.

[Question] Now that we are talking about the changes that occurred recently in the members' work, about them being swamped with responsibilities, it may be time to return to an evaluation of the last unusually long and, in many respects, atypical term.

[Answer] It is no accident that in September 1980 we ourselves said in the Sejm that our votes cannot be a stamp put on yesterday's decisions. What is especially essential in the last term and what may bode well for the future is simply the cohesion of the three basic functions of our parliament, which in the past failed to come together. These are, first the function of managing the state and economy (thus the planning process, role of budget planning, evaluation of government activity); second, the legislative function, very developed in this term (we have nearly 170 passed laws behind us); and third, control.

Of course, legislative activity is the most observable; it is said frankly that the Sejm has become a law factory and that it has its own kind of inflation. I would like strongly to underscore, however, that this was caused by the fact that it was necessary to reorganize completely economic law in connection with reform and to reorient the entire self-government law and social legislation. What is important here is the way this was done--I emphasize the fact that only 19 laws were passed in this term without any amendments, that is, with the same intent with which they entered the Sejm. However, a third of the laws assumed an entirely new form, departing from the original assumptions. Twenty-two of the laws were carried at the initiative of the members themselves or individuals. All this attests to the Sejm's enormous and effective work; hidden behind this are not only many suggestions, but also the attrition of views and opinion-gathering--much time was needed for this (there were nearly 1900 meetings of commissions, of which there are now 20), and a huge amount of practical and specific work. This is no longer the applying of a stamp to anyone's decision.

We further add that control activity was performed in parallel. All of the commissions, supported by the activity of the Supreme Chamber of Control, are continuously involved in this activity. Management functions were realized simultaneously--each of the commissions had an attitude toward the 3-year plan and other plans, budget problems, etc.

The fact that the Sejm succeeded in immediately uniting these three functions is, in my opinion, the greatest achievement of this term.

[Question] This term, such a difficult one, is, as one can see, productive. What do you consider most essential to the future of Polish parliamentarism?

[Answer] First we must desire to maintain the cohesion of the Sejm's three functions, which we spoke about earlier. I do not think this will be easy.

Why? It happens that in difficult times, the very situation inclines us simply to seek the handiest solutions of life, without looking around. Each normalization and stabilization--whatever we would judge on this subject--generates greater tendencies to avoid inconvenience from all sides. I hope that the Sejm's next term will bring more stable work conditions than at present, but this will expose it to definite danger. Going beyond this idea, it would be fitting to support greater workloads, because only the combined work of the members and all the Sejm's organs and its commissions can fulfill these real, not ostentatious, obligations of the organ of highest state power.

Finally, I would say that it will require an especially great effort to make the Sejm's control function more effective. This is generally related to the problem of more rational control in the state, since I feel the greatest sore spot today is that all manner of desiderata, opinions and proposals are accepted without resistance, but their realization occurs generally slowly and not always consistently. Thus, the proposal for effectiveness of control sections must naturally advance to the foreground in speaking of the fact that stabilization in the nation will bring with it certain danger, I am thinking not only of parliamentary comfort, but of every other kind.

12421

CSO: 2600/376



POLAND

# NEEDS OF COURTS, MINISTRY OF JUSTICE DISCUSSED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 11 Dec 84 p 5

[Text] On the 10th of this month, the Sejm Commission for Internal Affairs and the Administration of Justice examined the draft plans of the state budget for 1985 which pertain in part to the Ministry of Justice, to the Supreme Court, to the Prosecutor General's Office and to the Main Office of the Control of Publishing and Public Performances. According to custom, the budget debate has become a point of discussion of the problems of the functioning of the mentioned ministries and institutions.

Among other things, the cadre situation in the judicial system was discussed. As pointed out by Deputy Janina Banasik (ZSL, Katowice), this situation does not set a mood of optimism. The administration of justice still continues to see the departure of judges, frequently with 6 to 15 years experience in pronouncing judgments, to accept positions in other areas of the legal system. Among other things, the deciding factor in this are competitive wages. However, this is not the only reason. The number of legal cases grows from year to year and it is necessary to settle an increasing number of them, the courts are working under difficult conditions and the shortages among administrative workers are trying. The budget draft plan has made provisions for funds for additional positions. This is also connected to work on the new law regarding work related courts and social insurance.

The deputies also pointed to the importance of strengthening the judge's prestige. This was discussed by deputies Ryszard Reff (no party affiliation, Siedlce) and Pawel Dabek (PZPR, Lublin). It was stressed during the meeting that, among other things, the further specialization of this profession should be conducive to this end.

The public prosecutor's office is having to grapple with cadre problems similar to those of the courts.

The commission has also decided that in view of the problems with the quarters in which prosecutor's offices are housed, it will submit a proposal for the allocation of an additional sum for current repairs of the local prosecutor's office quarters. The possibility of improving current socioliving conditions and meeting the most pressing needs in this respect also depends on legislative solutions. It was emphasized that work on laws regarding the common pleas court system and the public prosecutor's office is being finalized.



POLAND

## OPPOSITION GROUPS URGED TO CEASE ILLEGAL ACTIVITIES

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Jan 85 p 2

[Article by J.O.: "Conspirators"]

[Text] Security officers have recently interrupted an illegal meeting held in the apartment of high school teacher Janina K., at Emilia Plater St. in Warsaw. The participants explained that the meeting was of a "social" nature. Strangely enough the majority of 22 persons present there did not know one another, and only 7 persons agreed to testify. The rest took advantage of the right to refuse to answer questions. Why did they refuse, since they participated in a "social" gathering?

It was a select company. Present were the so-called activists of former Solidarity, among them Henryk Wujec, Ryszard Bugaj, Szymon Jakubowicz, Jan Rosner. They studied, for instance, a report prepared by an opposition group in the Workers' Council at the FSO Car Factory, dealing with amendments to the law on enterprise self-management. The report calls, among other things, for setting up a so-called steadfast front.

The gathering was attended by three persons with no permanent place of work, two persons employed in private businesses, two retired scholars, seven active scientists mainly from the Polish Academy of Sciences institutes, one school teacher, one former prosecutor and now defense attorney, and six employees of Warsaw's factories.

This was not the first nor presumably the last meeting held by remnants of opposition groups, devoted to methods of political action in working class milieux. The meeting was of a typically training nature, with the participants trying to agree on methods of action through workers' self-management organizations.

The remnants of former Solidarity are late every now and then. They missed the moment of establishing the new trade unions, they missed the period of setting up self-management structures, and now they are trying to enter them through the back door. But it is too late. The absent ones have never had anything to say, nor ever will.

The people who try to infiltrate self-management bodies have nothing in common with the workers' structures. What they really want to do is to express their "no" to the policy line pursued by the party and the government. They do not suggest any positive program. Their target is to torpedo the authorities' intentions and actions.

These people do not want to use their knowledge and experience for constructive actions, even though everybody has a chance to do so. There are various legal organizations in Poland, social or self-management ones, which do not have to share the official standpoints. They are allowed to be critical and put forth their proposals within the framework of the existing legal order.

But these people prefer other ways. A mysterious gathering, like the one that has recently been abruptly terminated, makes them feel like conspirators and serves as an argument to the opponents of socialism to the effect that "someone is fighting" against socialism. This is not politics, only dangerous politicking...

Such gatherings are meant to create the impression that a large-scale opposition continues to exist in Poland, that it is still active and capable of influencing the course of political events in our country. The appearances are to stand for the truth.

As the meeting was interrupted, one of its participants suggested the others to write an open letter to the Sejm and send a copy to the premier and the government spokesman. Haven't we heard that before?

Most likely, a propaganda campaign is now being prepared in the West. How's that, Radio Free Europe journalists would ask. Is it illegal in Poland for more than 20 people to meet in an apartment? It is not! They can meet, but not for a purpose like this.

Not even one out of 22 participants in the illegal meeting has been detained, although it would be possible to find formal grounds for firmer action. This time, the gathering was treated as an example of a pathetic conspiracy, but this is not to say that law can be broken with impunity. The "conspirators" should remember that.

CSO: 2600/547

POLAND

# MILEWSKI PRESIDES OVER LAW, ORDER MEETING

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Dec 84 p 2

[Article by Izabela Czaplarska: "Legal Advisers in the Protection of Public Property"]

[Text] The Central Committee Commission for Law and Order under the chairmanship of Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee Secretary Comrade Mirosław Milewski conducted an evaluation on the 20th of this month of the activity of legal advisers in fulfilling their responsibilities of protecting public property and the economic interests of the country.

For approximately 40,000 units of the socialized economy which require legal services, there are approximately 14,000 legal advisers employed. According to information given by the main body of advisers' self-government, the National Council, 77 percent of the advisers work part-time.

In the discussion, occurring inadequacies and shortcomings in the work of the legal advisers were critically emphasized. The Ministry of Justice and the Prosecutor General's Office informed the commission that during the first half of the year, a 28 percent increase as compared with the first half of last year was recorded in the number of disclosed crimes against public property. On the other hand, only 28.6 percent of the preliminary proceedings of cases involving economic offenses were instituted on the basis of notification by units to which an injustice was done. According to the commission members, this attests not only to the attitude of the management and of the internal control of the units but also to the passivity of many legal advisers.

Legal advisers should also initiate activity aimed at protecting before the court the property interests of units of the socialized sector of the economy against which an injustice has been committed. Meanwhile, work establishments sometimes "lose" their case before the court for the repair of damages caused by a worker, for example, because the claim has lapsed, the adviser did not appear before the court or other flaws occurred which had a direct effect on dismissing the summons.

It has been found that there is a shortage of approximately 800 legal advisers in gminas and in small communities and not much more than half of the gmina and city-gmina offices have their own legal services. Therefore, is limiting

the number of applicants for legal advisers, as is the case currently, desired and advisable? Doubt was cast on whether a legal adviser, who is often employed on a part-time basis in several establishments, can fulfill his responsibilities properly and actively contribute to improving the protection of public property.

On the other hand, however, it was emphasized that despite many shortcomings in their work, legal advisers have been fulfilling their responsibilities better since the law on legal advisers of 6 July 1982 went into effect. The self-government created by the law is increasingly expanding its activity. However, these processes ought to be accelerated and, above all, the activity of legal advisers aimed at improving the protection of public property in work establishments ought to be intensified, thereby contributing to the more effective prosecution of perpetrators of crimes against this property and to the more effective enforcement of that which is due the units of the socialized sector of the economy on the basis of legally binding court judgments.

9853

CSO: 2600/422

POLAND

## PARTY PUNISHES MEMBERS OVER HOUSING SCANDAL

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3 Dec 84 pp 1, 2

[Text] From the tribune of the 17th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski announced, among other things, that the "unfortunately credible, as it would appear, signals about the underhanded dealings involved in the allotment of building lots and garden plots in a certain provincial city will be investigated in the immediate future."

This matter involved Torun. It was cleared up on the spot by a special commission from the Ministry of Administration and Land-Use Management with the participation of representatives from the PZPR Central Committee Office of Letters and Inspections and also from the Control Bureau of the Office of the Council of Ministers.

The accusations surrounding the Miedzyrzecze workers' garden plots, which were created in 1982 within the administrative confines of the city on the banks of the Drweca River on so-called Kaszczorek, were investigated in particular.

It was determined that in creating these garden plots, a glaring violation of the principles of social justice and of the legal rules and regulations and laws of the Polish Union of Allotment Holders took place in dividing the area into plots and in their administration and build-up. It was also found that the responsibilities of official supervisors were inadequately fulfilled and that in a few instances official posts were used to achieve personal gains.

There are currently more than 10,000 persons in Torun Province, and of this number approximately 3,000 in Torun itself, who are on the official waiting list for garden plots. Priority is given to large families with low incomes and to persons employed in strenuous work or in health-hazardous conditions. However, in the Miedzyrzecze gardens, most of the plots were allocated to persons who were not on the official waiting list, among whom were those holding management posts in the provincial and municipal administration or in municipal enterprises.

More than 93 percent of the garden plots were staked out to include a considerably larger area than the norm of 300 to 500 square meters. Naturally, this

limited the number of allotment garden holders.

On some of the garden plots, grand vacation homes were built which even had underground garages, with disregard for the regulations which allow at the most a summerhouse of not more than 20 m<sup>2</sup>.

Furthermore, certain irregularities were found during the allotment of lots for the construction of single-family homes by the Single-Family Housing Construction Assistance Association Cooperative in Torun.

The Revenue Office [Izba Skarbowa] in Torun and the Provincial Office of Internal Affairs contributed to exposing the existing state of affairs.

The PZPR Provincial Committee took up appropriate order-inducing and party-disciplinary action.

Upon the recommendation of the commission, it was decided, among other things, to check the partitioning of the area and the allotment of plots in the workers Miedzyrzecze Plot gardens, to reduce the size of the buildings on the plots to comply with the set standards, and to conduct some additional investigation under the supervision of the public prosecutor's office.

Decisions were made with regard to punishing the guilty.

Upon the recommendation of the minister of administration and land-use management, the chairman of the Council of Ministers reprimanded and issued a warning to the governor of Torun, Stanislaw Trokowski, and after consulting with the Presidium of the Provincial People's Council, dismissed the vice governors of Torun, Jozef Czaja and Stefan Stefanski, from their occupied posts.

The following were punished in accordance with the decision of the Torun provincial authorities:

--reprimand with a warning to the mayor of the city of Torun, Romuald Bester;

--dismissal from their occupied posts of:

--the deputy mayor of the city of Torun, Marek Markowicz;

--the director of the Department of Geodesy and Land Management of the Provincial Office in Torun, Bogdan Nawracki;

--the director of the Agricultural Department of the Provincial Office in Torun, Jan Bielecki;

--the main provincial architect in Torun, Tadeusz Rutz;

--the urban land surveyor in Torun, Jerzy Gabor.

All of these decisions and determinations once again confirm categorically that there is and will be no return to the situation prior to December 1981 or prior to September 1980.

POLAND

# TORUN PROSECUTOR COMMENTS ON PREPARATIONS FOR TRIAL

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 51, 22 Dec 84 p 5

[Interview with Marian Jeczmyk, Torun Voivodship prosecutor, by Dobrochna Kedzierska: "Trial of Fr Popieluszko's Murderers--Interview With Torun Voivodship Prosecutor"]

[Text] Question: The files of the case of Fr Jerzy Popieluszko's murder have been submitted to the Torun Voivodship Court. What charges have been presented against each defendant?

Answer: As the spokesman for the prosecutor general said earlier, the indictment was filed with the Torun Voivodship Court on 11 December. I want to stress that the investigations concerned primarily the crime of abduction and murder of Fr Jerzy Popieluszko. These charges have been presented against Grzegorz Piotrowski, Leszek Pekala, and Waldemar Chmielewski. As you know, Fr Popieluszko's driver, Waldemar Chrostowski, was abducted together with the priest, but managed to escape. Therefore, the three have also been charged with attempting to murder Waldemar Chrostowski. The same charge of attempted murder of Fr Popieluszko and his companions has been made in connection with an earlier incident of 13 October, when stones were thrown at Fr Popieluszko's car with the intention of causing a crash. The indictment also involves Adam Pietruszka, who has been charged with instigating and aiding the murder of Fr Popieluszko.

Question: How long do you think the trial will go on?

Answer: As you know, the trial begins on 27 December. I can't say how long it will go on. This depends on many factors related to the progress of the trial. What we know for sure is that the court will specify the duration of individual elements of the trial proceedings, thereby determining the duration of the whole trial.

Question: Did the suspects plead guilty during the investigation?

Answer: During the investigation, Grzegorz Piotrowski, Waldemar Chmielewski and Leszek Pekala pleaded guilty to killing Fr Jerzy Popieluszko. As regards the attempted murder of 13 October, the suspects confirmed that this incident had indeed taken place. They explained that they had only intended to

abduct Fr Popieluszko and his companions. They made a similar statement concerning the attempted murder of Waldemar Chrostowski. Adam Pietruszka pleaded innocent of instigating and aiding in the crime of abduction and murder of Fr Popieluszko.

Question: Are the names of counsels for the defense, plenipotentiaries of the injured parties and experts known yet?

Answer: From what I've learned so far, Mieczyslaw Lewandowski will be defending Grzegorz Piotrowski, Eugeniusz Graczyk will be defending Leszek Pekala, Zygmunt Pubanc will be defending Waldemar Chmielewski, and Barbara Marczuk will be defending Adam Pietruszka. Edward Wende will be representing Waldemar Chrostowski and Fr Jerzy Popieluszko's brother. Fr Popieluszko's parents will be represented by Andrzej Grabinski and Jan Olszewski. In accordance with the Code of Criminal Proceedings, the injured parties may apply to the court to allow them to take part in the trial as auxiliary prosecutors. The court decides whether auxiliary prosecutors may participate in the trial. Experts of various specializations were employed during the investigation, including those from the Forensic Medicine Department of the Bialystok Medical Academy, the Polish Automobile Association [PZMot] and the Criminology Department of the Chief Militia Station. They have added to the files of the case exhaustive written statements. The prosecutor has requested that Professor Maria Byrdy and Dr Tadeusz Jozwik of Bialystok Medical Academy take part in the trial. The prosecutor suggests that the statements of the other witnesses be read out during the trial. Naturally, the court may summon the other witnesses at any time; according to the prosecutor, it may also summon witnesses whose testimonies are to be read out during the trial.

Question: Have the defendants undergone psychiatric and psychological examinations, and, if so, what have they revealed?

Answer: The investigation didn't reveal any facts which would suggest doubts as to the mental health of the suspects. However, considering the character of the charges, the prosecutor requested the assistance of expert psychiatrists and a psychologist during the investigation. Each of the suspects was examined by two psychiatrists and a psychologist. They are of the opinion that at the time when the defendants committed the offenses with which they have been charged, they did not suffer from mental illness or any other mental disorders; they realized what they were doing and were able to control their behavior. So there are no obstacles to their appearing in court.

Question: Some people are blaming you for operating too slowly.

Answer: I believe to the contrary. During the 52 days of the investigation, 155 witnesses were questioned and several versions not only of the incident itself, but also the offenders' motives and the possibility of their acting upon someone else's inspiration were examined. Only 3 days had passed from the abduction of Fr Popieluszko until the detention of the suspects. The files of the case, which consist of 16 volumes, contain 30



expert reports. They also contain several records of investigative experiments, confrontations, site inspections, and a complete set of documents pertaining to the defendants' personalities. Moreover, 79 pieces of material evidence, 17 video cassettes and 13 tapes with records of investigative proceedings have been submitted to the Torun Voivodship Court. I think that this is telling proof that the investigation was thorough and was conducted efficiently. Naturally, all this wasn't done by one man, but by a team of prosecutors and Internal Affairs Ministry officers. If you bear in mind that a complicated search was performed, which necessitated the use of special equipment and the participation of hundreds of people, many laborious scientific tests were conducted and complex investigative proceedings were carried out, it's obvious that the charge that the proceedings have been going slowly is groundless. I'd like to stress that efforts toward exposing those who may have masterminded this crime are continuing.

Question: Have you received any letters from citizens concerning this case, for instance letters containing suggestions of punishment?

Answer: Yes. I received the greatest number of letters and telephone calls from various people all over Poland during the investigation, particularly at its initial stage. The letters concerned the investigative proceedings themselves. People are still writing letters and telephoning us. Some have suggested forms of punishment. After all, the case shocked the public, so you can hardly be surprised at that. The authors of the letters have mainly condemned the offenders. Some of them have indicated that Fr Popieluszko's activity wasn't connected with his religious duties. The authors of some letters have even specified the sentences which in their opinion should be imposed on the defendants. As a lawyer and prosecutor, I can only respond to these demands in one way: an independent court will hand out sentences in accordance with its judgment and the provisions of the Criminal Code. It will evaluate the degree of public danger that the crimes with which the defendants have been charged represent and will also take into consideration the aims of punishment, both with respect to its influence on the public and its preventive-corrective role. The prosecutor will demand appropriate punishment during the trial.

CSO: 2600/541

POLAND

## ANTI-STATE DISPLAYS IN CHURCHES CRITICIZED

### Exhibition for Murdered Priest Attacked

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 3 Jan 85 p 1

[Article by Stanislaw Stanuch: "No Place for You"]

[Excerpts] As you approach Krakow by the Warsaw train, you get an excellent view of the interesting shape of the church at Mistrzejowice-Nowa Huta. You can see the building towering over the Mistrzejowice hill. However, as you approach it, you can see more details. The church has two levels: the upper for praying. And the lower?

At the entrance to the Bethlehem nativity scene, displayed in every church at Christmas, is a poster inviting the people to see an exhibition of photographs from the funeral of Fr Jerzy Popieluszko, taken by renowned photographers, including Adam Bujak. According to the poster, the exhibition was organized by...Solidarity. This combination of birth and death and the invitation from a nonexistent organization are somewhat strange, but let's look inside. There is the creche and the hay and a little naked doll symbolizing the Newborn. No angels, no shepherds. No Blessed Virgin, no St Joseph either. However, there are the Magi. What gifts are they bringing? Nay, they can't be the Magi, they are rather three militia officers, even though their clothes do not show it, even though they are wearing some uniforms. They are dragging a priest in a surplice by the legs. He has a stole around his neck, and a discarded soutanne lies nearby on the ground. Only this scenery shows that we are dealing not with a traditional, "outmoded" creche that might please the eyes of some naive simpletons, but with a Modern Vision. Maybe it is too macabre?

Above the creche, where one would expect to find the star of Bethlehem, there is a huge Polish flag with the name of the former trade union inscribed on it. The creche is surrounded by a dozen huge candles, each from a different "region," and should any doubts arise, each one is girdled with a red-and-white sash. On the opposite wall of the chapel there is a huge crucifix on a wall, but a photograph of the pope has been skillfully inserted in the place of the head of Christ. Is that permissible? Specialists in Catholic doctrine should know. Next to it is a White Eagle, naturally wearing a crown; other eagles are invalid.

The blend of the creche-moderne with the exhibition was to propagate information about the burial of the murdered. In fact, there is not much information, but there are plenty of appeals to hatred. Is it becoming for the chapel to display obituary notices with such statements as "Solidarity's patron," "Murdered by Interior Ministry officers and PZPR members." Or: "Abducted and subsequently murdered, he died at the hands of hired communist assassins of the red terror. His martyr's death deprived the ranks of the best soldier in the battle for the cause of freedom and solidarity of all Poles." Is this an expression of understandable grief or a call for lynching? If "hired communist assassins" really rampaged Poland and if "red terror" really reigned, could such notices remain on display for even an hour and would their authors go free?

The funeral photographs were also taken tendentiously. They show placards held by the participants in the funeral, hung on walls and fences, saying: "Martyred for faith and human rights," "He died for the Lord, the motherland, and you," "Father Jerzy Popieluszko--the St George of our times." There are many big words, but are they true? Can anybody be a "patron" or a "saint" prior to beatification? And beatification is certainly the business of appropriate religious institutions not the authors of the slogans on the placards. Filmmakers' Solidarity claimed on its banner: "He was one, but there are millions behind him." Alas, it is not clear who authorized a handful of filmmakers to speak on behalf of millions.

I also do not like the words, "Murdered by Interior Ministry officers and PZPR members" because they are not true. The murderers have been identified, caught, and put on trial by the appropriate bodies of People's Poland. They have been stripped of their rank and expelled from the party. This decision--which definitely dissociates them from this murder and condemnation of this act--was announced in public by the premier of the Polish Government, and this fact is of unquestionable significance to all people guided by good will.

The authors of the exhibition themselves chose excerpts from Fr Jerzy Popieluszko's sermons which they printed below the photographs to prove what kind of religious truths the priest "martyred for faith" proclaimed and for which he was allegedly killed for defending. Here is a quotation from "rosary meditations" of 10 October 1984: "Solidarity captivated the world so quickly because it did not use force; instead, it fought on its knees with a rosary in hand, at field altars, demanded dignity and respect for man, insisted more on these values than on daily bread." If the above sentence has anything to do with "rosary meditations," then either faith has evolved so much it has become almost identical with politics or I have completely forgotten the essence of the rosary. Nor am I sure whether a "saint" can resort to lies in his sermons or whether it is a virtue to do so. Could he be unaware that such actions as the blocking of a central Warsaw road junction for many days, which paralyzed traffic in the capital of the country, the sit-ins in state administration buildings, or the unending tide of strikes (just to mention the exceptionally brutal ones at Lubogora or Radom) were neither rosary prayers nor refraining from the use of force?

Instead of mourning a "martyr for faith," would it not be better to call a spade a spade and say that we are dealing with the murder of a political activist? One of the obituary notices reads: "Death has taken from our ranks the best fighter for..." Not a word about priesthood or faith. Priesthood and faith have no role in the whole exhibition; they are of peripheral interest. Similarly the Newborn is overshadowed by the exhibits and union emblems, in comparison with which the cause for which He was born appears archaic and old fashioned.

Socialist Poland has for many years taken pains to ensure that nobody's religious convictions were prejudiced. Many years have passed since questions about religious or political convictions were removed from all application forms and identity documents. These have become the truly private, even intimate affairs of each Polish citizen, on a scale unknown in other countries. It would be good if our enemies obeyed this principle as we do and stayed away from the private views of party members. After all, when we publish the particulars of criminals, even people guilty of macabre multiple murders, we do not use the formula "member of the Roman Catholic Church," even though sometimes there might be a powerful temptation to do so.

And what if the Master turned up at the Mistrzejowice hill and, as recorded in the Gospel according to Mark, drove the authors of the nativity scene and the exhibition from the temple, who peddle none too noble intentions in this way? Or at least ones that contradict his teachings. And if he began to teach again that man should render unto Caesar what is Caesar's and render unto God what is God's" and that one "must not bear false witness against his brother" and that he "must love his brother as himself" (even if the brother happens to be a communist)? If the Master began to proclaim all these fine truths from the steps of the Mistrzejowice church, wouldn't the authors of the nativity scene, which has nothing in common with religion or with the Bethlehem tradition, prepare a Golgota for him as their predecessors did 2,000 years ago?

As we were leaving the church in a crowd of people, the inscription on the church, "Peace unto people of good will," sounded exceedingly ironic. Behind me, somebody said to his companion, "Let's go pray in the church." They too sensed that what they had seen in the creche was not for prayer or religion. Maybe for politics then? I myself got the same impression.

#### Campaign of Hatred in Szczecin

Szczecin GLOS SZCZECINSKI in Polish 4 Jan 85 p 1

[Article by Artur Nowinski: "Fr Sosna's 'Poland'"]

[Text] Something improper and horrible has happened in Szczecin. It happened in St Joseph's church in the Pomorzany district. Our readers have told us about it in many letters and phone calls, making no secret of their indignation and contempt. Let them speak for themselves:

"I am a devout Catholic," wrote Anna Chodkiewicz (address known to the editor). "I try to observe the Ten Commandments every day and first of all not to hurt anyone deliberately. I apply the evangelical principle of turning the other cheek rather than hitting back. Perhaps my views are a bit old-fashioned, but that is the way I was brought up. The Christmas spectacle arranged for us by Fr Jerzy Sosna, our parish priest, clashes not only with my own feelings about what this day, the most important day of the year to us, Catholics, should be like.

"When I entered the church, I saw a shocking and, I suppose, also awful sight around the traditional Christmas creche. It is improbable that something of this sort was prepared by a Pole, but must be by someone who invents 'Polish jokes' in the West. The main element of the 'creche' was black bars with a padlock hanging on thick chains. In the background hung the inscription 'Poland' and beneath it various slogans with which the stage designer intended to characterize our country. They said: 'bribes,' 'killing the unborn,' 'drug addiction,' 'homicide,' 'betrayal,' 'lying' and 'alcoholism.' Some of the slogans are illustrated--'alcoholism' is illustrated with empty vodka, wine and brandy (!) bottles, while the slogans 'lying' and 'betrayal' are illustrated with the names of three papers--TRYBUNA LUDU, GLOS SZCZECINSKI and RZECZPOSPOLITA.

"I wonder in what way Fr Sosna was brought up. I may sound demagogical, but it seems to me that the subtlety of his arguments could compare well with the anti-Polish centers of the Black Hundreds. How can a Pole and a priest at that try to ridicule his country? How can a priest have the courage to say that hell is others? How is it possible that a church, where you come to think about noble things and turn your soul to beauty, has something so dirty, slimy and horrible to offer?"

Another reader (name and address withheld by request) has sent us a somewhat ironic letter. "In reality, Poland has been put in chains by people such as the priest of St Joseph's parish. It is they who have cordoned off the country with hatred, who are the occupiers of the country; they are trying to imbue minds with poison, make them hate the unorthodox and bind everyone with a 'new evangelical cannon,' which resembles the principles of dealing with those who thought differently in the times of the crusades. I am not accusing all priests, but those who are acting in this way are legion. This is worse than obscurantism, but fortunately these people do not have the last word as regards issuing certificates of morality. The case of St Joseph's parish is the best proof of this."

One can hardly deny that our readers are right, not just because our paper has been criticized in the "Creche." It is nevertheless surprising that Fr Sosna decided to "go down in history" in this way 3 years after the well-known events which contained the flood of hatred in the country.

Perhaps he felt underestimated?

In this context, the incident would not be worth commenting on in our paper. Fortunately, it has been the only case of this kind in Szczecin Voivodship.

There is so much ill will in it that to quote the saying "it is a bad bird that fouls its own nest" seems to be too mild a comment.

P.S. Incidentally, His Eminence should be congratulated on having such an employee.

CSO: 2600/545

POLAND

## CHURCH, CREATIVE ARTS DEVELOP CLOSER LINKS

Warsaw PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI in Polish No 22, 18 Nov 84 p 7

[Interview with Father Wieslaw Al. Nieweglowski, national chaplain of creative artists communities, by Krzysztof Klopotoski: "An Opening"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] What does it mean to be the national chaplain of creative artists communities? Is your purpose, Father, closer to the role played by a cultural politician, or by an apostle?

[Answer] To serve as the chaplain to creative artists means to have--like all priests--a live consciousness of bringing the message to the people, and always to live up to it. This could have been a definition--one might call it an "encyclopedic" one--in this particular encyclopedia shaped by faith, by Christianity. I think that serving as a chaplain to creative artists gives me--apparently more than others--an opportunity to meet many sensitive and gifted people. Not only those who "persist in the Lord," but especially those who seek, doubt, and strive for truth. A priest should seek them out, and together with them make them aware of the substance of their choice and of the responsibility inherent in it. I participate therefore in the life (and work) of various artistic communities, as well as of individual creative artists. But mine is not the participation of shared creativity, but one of co-creator of the spiritual formation of a social group or an individual. The nationwide Chaplaincy of Creative Artists Communities, as part of the Bishops' Commission for Universal Chaplaincy, provides the meeting ground for diocesan artists' chaplains. It is there that pastoral initiatives concerning culture, typical for various dioceses, are presented, experiences shared, and inspirations compared. As you can see, the Chaplaincy of Creative Artists Communities is not a "department" within the church, and therefore I do not play the role of a "cultural politician." You have raised the question of an "apostolate." That is too big a word. I consider more intimate the notion of a "calling voice": sometimes to the creative artists, sometimes on their behalf.

[Question] In an interview granted to TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY (No 10/84) you talked at length about the teaching of Christianity. Let us talk, therefore, about the role of artistic patronage. Is the church in Poland sufficiently prepared to inspire artistic imagination? I refer to people, locations and financial means available to the church.

[Answer] You have touched on a very significant problem. Patronage means protection. What kind of protection? Financial, artistic, and what else? Could we talk about "keeping" an artist, making him totally dependent on you through detailed instruction? Or do we have in mind the inculcation of so-called guidelines "only"? Or "providing proper conditions and healthy competition"? We know what paternalistic patronage has wrought, how the "ugliness of destruction" has emerged. Genuine culture resists all suits of armor and their supporting structures. The so-called patronage of the church cannot be conceived in traditional terms, because that would amount to transferring the substance of this idea, shaped many ages ago, into new and entirely different times. It seems to me that we also have to recreate the social consciousness, to make society, the nation--which draws its strength from the church--take over this task. Patronage, today, as a continuation of the "protection by the mighty ones," is anachronistic. We have to seek new paths which would inspire the creative artist, but not bind his spirit. When I think about the patronage of the church, I conceive it as an element of its message, and I see it in three different ways:

The church is the one which attempts to use all its available means (and they are rich indeed) to promote ethical, national, and social culture. It is a permanent process, and derives from the magisterium.

As far as religious culture is concerned--the construction of sacral objects, religious painting, religious music, the liturgy, the culture of the rites, etc.--the church (in this domain) remains strictly a patron; it has proper structures and commissions to serve this purpose, such as the Bishops' Commission for Sacral Arts, the Bishops' Commission for Music, or, in Warsaw for instance, the Primate's Council for Church Construction. Thus the church is prepared to initiate enterprises which promote the creation of artistic oeuvres which serve the Gospel.

And finally, in the third dimension, we are confronted with "artistic culture" with all the complex problems of creative artists' communities. In this domain we can offer the "patronage of modest means," as Cardinal Karol Wojtyla put it in 1978, at a session devoted to culture. In this aspect I understand patronage as, above all, the moral authority represented by the church in Poland and offered to all creative artists. The patronage in this domain involves multiple opportunities derived from the interaction between the creative artists' communities and the church; you can see them, for instance, in case of the Chaplaincy of Creative Artists Communities, in various Weeks of Christian Culture, and not only there. As far as the problems of patronage over "artistic culture" are concerned, I would say that we are still in via, on the road of searching: we have no ready prescriptions. There is room here for the interplay of creative imagination that you mentioned earlier. The "patronage of modest means," strengthened by the authority of the church always favorable to friendly creation, might well become a never-failing source of wealth for all those who would like to draw on this treasure.

[Question] The number of recently built churches has exceeded 1,000. This means that over a few years' time there will be a need for several thousand



unique religious objets d'art, and for several hundred thousand works of artistic handicraft. Such a large-scale order, unprecedented in the history of our country, gives arts an opportunity, but at the same time creates a boom for kitsch. What will the church do to prevent the squandering of this chance for our national culture?

[Answer] Your question is of enormous import, but you have put it to a priest who is neither an art historian nor an aesthetician. My reply, therefore, can only contain some information of apparently common knowledge. The diocesan structures established for this purpose organize contests and look for consultation. Parish rectors do likewise. For the church, which has found itself in a new situation, the opportunity to build a multitude of temples raises the danger of "instant construction," without full preparation. The artistic or ideological expression of a building (or rather of an architectural complex) has to be integrated within its functional character. If we take into consideration the location of parish or monastic structures, which should be located around the church square (often rather modest in size), we are faced with a charade, difficult to solve. We have magnificent creative artists, excellent design, and solid construction. Are there, then, no grounds for anxiety? Yes, there are. I would like to mention here the shortcomings in preparing the interior decoration, which requires that all the creative artists be familiar with the knowledge amassed within the church over many centuries, in order to distinguish, for instance, between St Florian with a watering can and St Anthony holding the Child in his lap. As far as the boom for kitsch is concerned, this danger was present in the past as well. Many theoretical and practical studies on this subject have been recently prepared. Suffice it to treat some of them as a warning against bad taste, and not as an apotheosis of any specific concept--derived, in my opinion, from a persistent backwater of aesthetics.

[Question] Father, what do you have in mind when you use the codename "specific concept"?

[Answer] I mean that here and there kitsch has become fashionable, in particular late 19th and early 20th century kitsch. It has, perhaps, some nostalgic charm which attracts some people, captivates them by its sweet and effortless simplicity. Should one include some genuinely artistic phenomena, elements of folklore in culture, as well as works of some fashionable primitivists, for instance, one might be tempted to treat all of the above jointly, instead of separately. But that is a problem of aesthetic education, also necessary for the construction of temples and their interior decoration. Austerity and the certain asceticism of modern art, as well as preference for simple forms, for expression rather than for ornamentation--all set the limits for kitsch, in religious art as well.

[Question] In your opinion, Father, does one have to believe in God in order to engage in sacral arts?

[Answer] It seems to me that you have formulated your question in a most constricted manner, and--such is my impression--you have a priori determined the problem. In this case neither haste nor apodictic solutions are indicated.

The length of the road, and its pits and bumps, should not rule out hope. A priest in particular must have endless hope. Nonetheless, no creative artist who wants to share in the creation of God's works can renounce goodwill, the desire for search, or sensitivity to the sacrum. After all, whenever he reaches for his tools in order to serve Christ's message, he realizes that the effect of his work cannot be ambiguous. With the benefit of hindsight I think that in the past the situation was simpler, more lucid, somehow more ideal. Icons, after all, were painted not with oils alone, but with prayer and fast as well.

[Question] What is a 20th century artist who wishes to concur with the church in Poland supposed to give up? What is his recompensating spiritual profit? Please answer without using religious terms.

[Answer] It seems to me that the question was posed in a way which barely conceals a sham problem. To start with, I do not know whether what you have in mind is "religious culture" or "artistic culture." As far as the former is concerned, the artist's autonomy would encounter the transcendence of the church, and he has to take it into account. An artist creative in the area of "artistic culture" should remain true to himself, in accord with his conscience. Unless we are dealing with the situation succinctly described by [Stanislaw Jerzy] Lec: "His conscience was clear, never made use of." But seriously, I would like to reply using the words of Pope Pius XII in his encyclical "Miranda prorsus": "Immoral art does not exist," because it is a conjunction of mutually exclusive terms. But the problem you have raised can be put in a different way. An artist does not have to give up anything. And what conditions does he have to fulfill? Only those bound to enrich him. He should, therefore, be familiar with the truth of the faith, to learn the history of the church in Poland and throughout the world, not to shun philosophy and aesthetics, not exclusively the Christian ones. He is supposed therefore to work, not to give up. Is joining the sphere of the sacrum an attempt to restrict his freedom? Will he not be grateful for the enrichment of his imagination? And, finally, should greater depths of spiritual formation be considered a loss or a gain? You asked me not to use religious terms. I replied as if on behalf of the artist, in his name, and I cannot believe that he himself, when he enters the reality of God's People, that is to say, of the church, could avoid setting for himself the "tasks" I have just mentioned.

[Question] Some people think that after the separation which took place during the Renaissance, the current rapprochement between religion and creativity in Poland might presage a general process. They hope we have gained a chance for cultural leadership, but for how long? Do you believe this, Father.

[Answer] The rapprochement you have just mentioned, or rather a new encounter after an age-long separation, is not forthcoming: it is already a fact. There are people who talk about the sacrum's revenge over the secularized culture. That is obviously an extreme posture, and like all extremism it provokes resistance. In the church, too. As far as this "rapprochement" is concerned, it is hard to predict the future, nor do I believe it is necessary. And to those who claim we have gained a "chance for cultural leadership," would like to reply by quoting [Cyprian Kamil] Norwid's poem "Promethidion," which should well be recommended for reading and thinking over:

"And so I see future art in Poland  
As a banner atop towers of human works,  
Not a plaything nor a lesson,  
But the most sublime of apostolic crafts  
And the most humble angel's prayer."

[Question] [---] [Passage deleted on the basis of the 31 July 1981 law on control of publications and performances, article 2, point 1 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 99, amended 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, item 204)]. Creativity is an arena where individualities clash, where the artist's innovative spirit confronts the conservatism of a Maecenas. Cultural theocracy might become the most onerous kind of spiritual authority. What does the national chaplain of creative artists communities have to say about this?

[Answer] Your question includes an answer with which I concur. Cultural theocracy would indeed constitute a grievous sin. However, how remote are we from the temptation to commit such a sin! We would rather keep it at the greatest distance possible.

[Question] One of the most potent motivations for an artistic career is the wish to shine, but you, Father, said in the TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY interview that the church has no place for stars, since only one star shines here: the Star of Bethlehem. The Star of Bethlehem does shine, but during the Holy Mass the Liturgy of the Words is read by Andrzej Lapicki and Andrzej Szczepkowski. What is the light that attracts people precisely to the Church of the Visitation in the [Warsaw] New City?

[Answer] You are talking about two different, though related, things. Let me answer the latter question first. Liturgy is not a contest. People attend church not because of X, Y, or Z--at least most of them do not. Please check the attendance in churches other than the Visitation. Perhaps they are even more crowded. It might happen that somebody comes here to look at "stars"--the possibility cannot be ruled out. But such a "risk" is inseparable from the freedom of man, God's child. After all, the Lord affects people in different ways, and only He knows what aim He can achieve by leading them along different paths. To return to the first question: those who read liturgical texts here are artists. They do it well, or very well. They can hardly stop being themselves. They are with us from the need of their hearts. Knowing their motivation, I can assure you that they are far from wishing to abuse the star capacity granted them by the Lord, for whom they have come here.

[Question] If we could for a moment forget about your ministry, Father, I might ask you about your personal taste. What do you like most in contemporary Polish art?

[Answer] I cannot forget about what you call my "ministry" even for a moment. Yes, I do follow all the cultural events, in a sense I participate in them, I seek--and often I do find--something for my private self. I learn to look, to listen, to think. That much I can tell you. Above all, I am happy if a work accepted by those for whom it has been created achieves success. It is then that the distance which divides people is shortened, and all of them come

closer to the site of our pilgrimage. Then, too, we gain the certainty that the created work was a gift of love.

[Question] Thank you for the interview, Father, though I must admit that I expected some more personal pronouncements as well. Is not a ministry which makes you remember it all the time too onerous for a man en route to his personal entity? Does it not make more difficult the interhuman encounter, without which there is no pastoral care?

[Answer] This is either a question which you unconsciously address to yourself, or you are starting a new, totally different interview with me. It was posed from a very long distance. My answers were not incidental to my personality, they were supposed to be--I say this with some embarrassment--its essence. "Ministry," "bondage," "difficulties in interhuman encounters"--those are terms of psychological tests, while you have talked, after all, with a priest, that is to say, with a minister who is the intermediary. It is the "mediation" which provides the "path to personal entity," so how could it be "bondage"? Saint Paul, in his Letter to the Philippians, wrote: "I press on, hoping to take hold of that for which Christ once took hold of me." That is the essence of the pastoral care which enables me to follow this common road, that of the creative artists and my own.

[Interviewer] I wish you, Father, and all of us, mature fruits from this encounter.

12485

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POLAND

LACK OF CREDIBILITY PLAGUES STUDENT SELF-GOVERNMENT

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 12 Dec 84 p 3

[Article by Gregorz Jurkowski: "Inflated Ambition"]

[Text] Who should protect student interests? The answer appears to be a simple one-student self-government. Theoretically that is the way it ought to be. That is the demand voiced in the law on higher education. Unfortunately, at many universities self-government is simply pure fiction, since it takes upon itself various obligations outside of the legally designated ones related to the representation of students.

Complexities in student representations surfaced in Polish schools rather recently, as late as 1980-81. Up to that time everything was uncomplicated. In 1950 the Association of Polish Students and then later on, beginning with 1973, the Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP] attracted a decided majority of university students and assumed representation of their interests. With the beginning of August 1980 the whole conception fell apart. Many new student organizations were inaugurated at schools, but most of the SZSP members simply left. What seemed to be an interesting phenomenon was the fact that although there were many student organizations on campus, they attracted only a small number of members.

Solution--Self-Government

In this situation who was to protect the interests of the students, including those who belonged to other organizations and also those who were of the opinion that they did not need an organization of any kind? The answer to this question presented itself as a result of long and tumultuous discussions and proposals centering around the premises and drafts of the law on higher education. The law was enacted during the period of martial law on 4 May 1982. It advocates the spirit of self-government, which in the final outcome was declared to be the best remedy for solving "the student question." Is this actually the best approach? I think it is. There seems to be no other way out of this dilemma. The law on higher education adequately and thoroughly describes the substance of student self-government.

"Students at school"--states the legislation--"are organized into a body of self-government and participate in its functions regardless of their organizational affiliations." Further: "The student self-government organizations are called upon to represent and protect the interests of students." Functions of student self-government are fully described. "It acts within the school system guided by self-prescribed regulations conforming to school ordinances. Regulations establish the responsibilities and structure of self-government." Additionally: "Student self-government organizations can act at several class levels, on a variety of subjects, at different departments and within the home and dormitories." Similarly, the competence of self-government has been explained in detail: "Student self-government units in conjunction with school authorities shall render determinations in situations where financial assistance or educational awards are to be allocated from the student scholastic fund." Further: "Interested self-government bodies serve in an advisory capacity in all cases relating to education and upbringing."

These regulations are an integral part of the law on higher education. Is it possible to misunderstand them? This question came to mind because analysis of the regulations and the actions of some self-government bodies reveals that many students as well as administrators do not understand plainly worded regulations.

#### We Are of the Utmost Importance

This is a serious accusation--you will have the details in a moment--but first of all let's have a clarification. Does this charge implicate all students of the school just because self-government is understood to mean the whole student body? No. The accusation involves many of the school activists and department self-government bodies. Unfortunately, as a general rule students are not very interested in the activities of their own organizations. In evaluating the activities of self-government management, we arrive at the conclusion that self-government bodies are not considered as true representatives of students in certain instances, but in many cases as merely just another student organization, one that carries the most weight, that is self-sufficient and almost totally independent of anyone else. In some instances in their own regulations the self-government body will refer to itself quite openly as "an independent socioprofessional organization" or as "an autonomous segment of the school's organizational structure." It does occur that overly ambitious self-government workers want to collect dues from the students, which is characteristic of an organization and not of self-government.

Some self-government activists are exerting pressure for the proposition that students who are not actively involved in student or political organizations would not have the right of participation in self-government. In this manner they could differentiate as to who is and who is not worthy of representing the interests of his colleagues.

## Breaking the Law

There are schools at which self-government bodies usurp for themselves the exclusive right to represent the student body's interests. It is forbidden for student organizations to approach the rector with demands, propositions or opinions, although the ZSP [Polish Student Association], ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth], ZMW [Rural Youth Union] and the ZHP [Polish Scout Union] have the legal right to do so. Regrettably, the desires of self-government management members wanting to be "the supreme authority" at some of the schools have support of the school hierarchy. In order to avoid bickering and have peace, authorities would rather have one organization to deal with. So, let the law have its expression and practicality its own way.

In parts of the self-government regulations it is plainly stated that self-government is a student representation to the outside world. Cooperation is initiated with self-governments of other schools, with other than educational or social organizations, government institutions and even with private individuals working for the benefit of students. Is the law on higher education responsible for these "normalizations"? Assuredly not. These normalizations are in conflict with the law, which explicitly defines the area of self-government activity as ultimately limited to the school. Self-government represents the interests of the students in relation to its authorities. This is strictly an intraschool arrangement not authorized by anyone as a medium for the representation of all students either to provincial or state authorities, especially since this has been experienced by other countries.

It is interesting that self-management bodies are even willing to cooperate with private individuals who have no affiliation with colleges, while at the same time they show no intention of establishing cooperative arrangements with student organizations at other colleges. Are not self-governments and student organization striving for the same goals? Evidence of considerably overinflated ambitions can be found in the degree of competence some self-government officials attribute to themselves. They want to represent the students in all their affairs, although the law on higher education only mentions situations pertaining to monetary assistance in education and upbringing. No mention is made of political or economic activities of self-government. This indicates that activities of this sort are forbidden and not that they have approval.

### What Next?

In view of these depressing facts, would it not be appropriate to make an appeal to the legislators for the elimination of the regulations relating to self-government in the law on higher education? In this way, self-government would be put out of business and problems would vanish.

This proposal is absolute fallacy. Student self-government is exceedingly vital. Although presently representing a potential, students are a very important element for the promotion of improvements in teaching methods and

the realization of legally indicated procedures, especially those pertaining to instruction and character development. Self-government is essential to institutions of learning as well as to the students themselves. Self-government is an indispensable factor in the preparation and training of students for a useful and effective future upon graduation. Without this experience how could an alumnus manage working in a self-managing enterprise?

The question is, what kind of self-government is required? Is it the kind we have today? Certainly not. We need a self-government that works within the law on higher education. One that would represent the basic interests of all students at a given school, and not just a few. This kind of self-government unifies the student body, stimulates activities which are effective. Nowadays, however, the majority of student self-government organizations are suffering pangs of overgrown ambition and the usurping of qualifications and claims of competence for themselves without anyone's approbation. Such self-government bodies do not unify but rather deepen divisions which still exist in student circles and in which we find political differences.

12306

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POLAND

## STUDENT ORGANIZATION PLAGUED BY DISTRUST, LOW INTEREST

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 2 Jan 85 p 3

[Article by Jan Garlicki: "Students' Attitudes: Wait and See?"]

[Excerpts] What are students' social and political attitudes? What do they think of the Polish Students Association [ZSP] as a youth organization shaping these attitudes? Now that a discussion on the higher education law and on student self-government has begun, these questions are particularly important. They are also important because the ZSP will hold its first congress in March 1985.

This article is based on sociological surveys conducted by the Public Opinion Survey Center, including "The ZSP in student eyes" (May 1983), "Participants in the ZSP Founding Congress on the manner of the foundation of the new organization," and "The expectations of newly enrolled students" (September 1984).

First, the majority of students pin great hope on the operation of university self-government and would like to grant these bodies extensive powers. The reticent majority views the other officially operating institutions of the student movement with distrust. When asked whether they thought that "the ZSP in its present organizational form and with its present program could be accepted by the majority of students," only 6.6 percent of students said "yes" and 57.3 percent said "no" (in May 1983). Yet the ZSP is the most popular organization operating at the universities.

Second, it is a myth that students are not involved in politics. Two results of the surveys indicate that students are vitally interested in politics.

First, half of the students would like to have their representatives in the people's councils and the Sejm; 40 percent of the respondents (the sample was representative of all Polish students) support the idea of granting university self-government bodies the right to appoint candidates for councilman and Sejm deputies. Nearly one-fourth of the students are ready to grant these powers to the ZSP. Significantly, this group is twice as numerous as the actual membership of the ZSP.

Second, students are most critical of the following spheres of the operations of youth organizations:

--Representing and defending students' interests before the state authorities;

--Presenting and pushing through general social demands;

--Voicing students' opinions on political and economic problems.

Students feel the need for political representation and consider the relevant operations of the existing youth organizations unsatisfactory.

It is worth quoting some opinions of students on the ZSP. In May 1983, nearly 42 percent of all students thought that the ZSP was "a simple continuation of the Polish Socialist Students Union [SZSP], with the same program and only a different name." Some students said that they had not joined the ZSP because they did not like its unambiguous, ideological orientation. There is no need to add that this judgment results from unfamiliarity with the statutes, program, and practical operations of the ZSP. Some students (12 percent of all respondents) even said: "I don't accept the ZSP because it's subordinated to the PZPR."

It is worth stressing that the answers varied greatly depending on the student's university year and size of the university itself. Students of large universities were more critical of the ZSP; those of medium-size universities were less critical; and those of small universities were the most appreciative. The influence of size is also reflected by the number of students who are members of the ZSP. In large cities, Warsaw for instance, the percentage of students who are ZSP members is a one-digit figure; in small towns it is a two-digit figure. The surveys have shown that junior students tend to be more interested in the ZSP than senior ones. Besides, freshmen do not associate the ZSP with a continuation of the SZSP.

The ZSP is the most active youth organization at universities. Students believe it organizes the greatest number of cultural, tourist, and sports events for them. However, students do not always associate a cultural event at a ZSP club, for instance, with the organization itself. It turns out that even those students who regularly take part in cultural, tourist, or sports events organized by the ZSP do not always decide to join this organization.

A related phenomenon is students' professed readiness to work for the university. About one-third of the students say that it makes sense to engage in organized voluntary work, while 45 percent say that they would engage in voluntary work on certain conditions. Yet since only about one-fourth of the students participate in extracurricular activities, including youth organizations, there is a major gap between professed and actual attitudes.

Some respondents are clearly hostile toward youth organizations, do not believe things can change for the better, and say "it would be best if the organization dissolved itself." Some answers contain insults to the political institutions in Poland, but such hostility constitutes a negligible part of all the answers. On the other hand, next to nothing may be said about the students' positive feelings.

Finally, the author must ask the fundamental question: What is students' attitude toward socialism? Generally speaking, the surveys indicate that a large group of students don't accept socialism (it is difficult to say what the connotations of this term are in each case), say they accept the following values..., and then list the values which in fact constitute the socialist value system.

On the basis of the general data, a number of typical student attitudes may be distinguished. According to this simplified typology, the following attitude syndromes are the most widespread among students:

--Distrust in official institutions, so-called relative disapproval, disapproval of the functioning of the university and of the inefficient mechanisms of the political system. This syndrome embraces different attitudes, but not necessarily hostility toward socialism; it is probably the most common;

--Passive acceptance and a consumer attitude. This kind of student tends to avoid conflicts, is conservative, and seeks maximum benefits for minimum effort;

--Active, thinks in terms of the general good. Activists of the youth organizations most often represent this syndrome; sometimes this attitude is coupled with complete lack of criticism;

--"Internal exile," deliberate passive rejection of the social situation in Poland; and

--Open hostility toward socialism and everything connected to it.

Unfortunately, empirical surveys cannot precisely identify the sources of these attitudes.

We have to realize that at present the ZSP is unable to shape the attitudes of the majority of students. This situation is not going to improve overnight. However, it is possible and necessary to influence the attitudes of the organization's members.

CSO: 2600/540

POLAND

# YOUTH LEADER DESCRIBES PROBLEMS IN ATTRACTING WIDE SUPPORT

Warsaw RZECZYWISTOSC in Polish No 1, 6 Jan 85 p 3

[Interview with Jerzy Szmajdzinski, chairman of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth [ZSMP], by Waldemar Gontarski: "Before the 4th ZSMP Congress--Interview with ZSMP Chairman"]

[Text] Question: "The essence of the August 1980 protest was discontent with the progressing collapse of moral values, the domination of private interests and the contradiction between words and deeds. We had had enough of waiting 15 years for apartments, empty shops and the shortage of day care centers and nursery schools. We protested against the growing social differentiation, careless and badly organized work, the shortage of books, including school textbooks, the decay of cultural facilities, and unequal access to culture and education.... The young working class genuinely proved to be jointly responsible for the country's destiny."

That was a quote from the resolution of the 3rd Extraordinary ZSMP Congress, held in 1981. What do you think of that quote now?

Answer: That resolution was above all a profound analysis of the reasons for young people's participation in the working-class revolt of the early 1980's. No one doubts that these young people's determination was the moving force behind the August events.

Question: The resolution was also a concrete program, to be implemented in a specified period of time.

Answer: Yes--at the 4th Congress, to be held in April 1985, the National Committee will have to report on how it has implemented the resolution. Along with our statutes, our Ideological Programmatic Declaration, and the documents presenting our position on the most important problems facing the country, this resolution has become a guideline in the struggle being pursued by our union in defense of young people and their interests.

Question: In the spring of 1976, when the ZSMP was founded, the program it then presented also reflected the needs and hopes of young people.

Answer: The congress defined how these needs and hopes should be met. We drew up a list of problems to be solved by the party and the government; this whole list was included in the resolution passed by the 9th PZPR Congress. The government transformed our report into a program for improving the living and working conditions of young people. And 2 years ago, the Government Committee for Youth Affairs was appointed.

Question: That congress concluded that young people, which includes your union, have in reality little say in the exercise of power and little influence on resolving the problems of the young generation. Then, at successive plenary meetings of the National Committee, you concluded that since 1980 young people had acquired active influence on public life. Yet we still see a reluctance to take part in public life, a lack of civic involvement, and a tendency to seek refuge in private, personal matters.

How do you influence those who don't belong to the union, who constitute the vast majority of young people?

Answer: The situation in recent years certainly hasn't encouraged young people to participate in public life, but then that's been a feature of all crises in Poland. But we should avoid oversimplifications. Our participation in the work of people's councils, trade unions, factory self-management bodies, rural cooperatives and PRON proves that young people want to be active and are in fact active. But not all of them. Young people are influenced first of all by their family, their school, and only then youth organizations, in that order. But I'd like to stress that our program, our activities and the events we organize are open to everyone who wants to be active; this is stated in our statutes, which are based on Marxist-Leninist principles.

Question: Who do you represent?

Answer: The active section of the youth, and above all--our own members.

Question: Elections have been held to people's councils. What do you think of the results of these elections? Youth organizations didn't seem to cooperate enough here. The situation was similar before elections in the PZPR and the United Peasants Alliance [ZSL].

Answer: The proportion of young people among the councillors elected is lower than during the council's previous term of office. About 26,600 ZSMP members were on the ballot, of which 9,600 were elected. This equals 8.8 percent of all councillors. When we compare this to the number of candidates we originally proposed, we don't feel totally satisfied. It isn't the case that those who weren't selected were less active. Those not selected usually combined membership of the ZSMP with membership of the PZPR (or one of the political alliances). The party based itself above all on experienced comrades. These days we appreciate other qualities, we don't select people according to the formula "blonde, 25, not a party member, vocational secondary education." This should be remembered. These people will certainly be genuinely active, they'll be posing questions and looking

for answers. In such voivodships as Tarnobrzeg, Pila, Gorzow, or Slupsk, ZSMP members account for about 20 percent of the members of voivodship people's councils, and these people are increasingly able to take many decisions on their own.

Question: You call your organization political, socialist and militant, and say that it includes people from all walks of life. This last attribute perhaps illustrates the lack of consistency in our postwar policy on youth.

Answer: Let me remind you that:

--In 1948, the Polish Youth Union [ZMP]--a mass organization embracing various sections of society--was founded as a result of a merger of youth and democratic organizations operating in the inter-war period and during the war;

--After 1956, the Socialist Youth Union [ZMS] and the Union of Rural Youth [ZMW] were established; these unions organized young people from specific sections of society;

--In 1973, the Federation of Socialist Union of Polish Youth was set up;

--In 1976, the Union of Polish Socialist Youth [ZSMP] was founded, while the Socialist Union of Rural Youth [SZMW] and the ZMS were dissolved;

--After 1980, the federation ceased to exist, while the ZMW, the Union of Democratic Youth [ZMD] and the Communist Union of Polish Youth [KZMP] were revived (the last two organizations don't exist any more).

The same lack of consistency is visible in running a student organization. These changes have dealt repeated blows to the youth movement; these structural changes often didn't correspond to current needs.

Question: In your opinion, which does a better job in educating young people, articulating their interests, and reflecting their social, political and ideological differences--an organization of all sections of society, or one confined to one section only?

Answer: It would be impossible today to follow the example of the organizations that existed in the years 1948-1980. The first materialists pointed out that you can't enter the same river twice, and that was long, long ago. What is important is organizational structure which passes the test of time. Whatever you say about the last 40 years, our organization has survived the storm of history under the same name and with the same ideological profile.

Question: You're chairman of the largest youth organization in Poland.

Answer: Our membership totals 2 million. Last year's net growth amounted to 16,000, 217,000 new members joining (the age of our members ranges from 15 to 35).

Question: The academic community best reflects the organizational pluralism of the youth movement--or to be more exact, the splits within it. There's the ZSMP, the Polish Students Association [ZSP], the Union of Rural Youth [ZMW], and the Polish Scouting Union [ZHP]--all grouping only 10 percent of Polish students. In what way are you different from the other student organizations?

Answer: The decision to extend our organization to include the academic community was based on the conviction that there should be a youth organization in Poland which unites young people from all walks of life. It's important to us what the young intelligentsia will be like, how it's going to work for the benefit of society and the primary force within it--the working class. We've decided that the organization should follow the natural path taken by most young people, beginning with secondary school and ending in the workplace and place of residence. Last but not least, cutting off a worker and peasant organization from the academic community would mean lowering its ideological attractiveness and vegetating in civic welfare work.

How are we different? It's the others who should answer this question. Our chief criteria in recruiting people are an active attitude and a readiness to work for other people, for the sake of social justice.

Question: Could you take a position on the following statement: "When setting up the system of student representation we envisaged full implementation of the Law on Higher Education and cooperation between three kinds of organizations: students' self-government bodies, students' unions, and ideological and educational organizations.... In practice, however, the situation has proved different. The ideological and educational organizations offer a program similar to ours, but the self-government bodies are trying to dominate the ZSP." (This is taken from an interview with the ZSP chairman, printed in SZTANDAR MŁODYCH, No 206, 1984.)

Answer: The provision of the law that's involved here is wrong in assuming that one organization, the good one, will be active in youth clubs, encourage cultural activities, tourism, etc., while the other will restrict itself to education. This way the latter would be doomed to an artificial existence. We have to examine all the problems our members face. Our cultural activities, for instance, cannot possibly be limited to workers or the rural community. As for the self-government bodies, it's a fact that they've been trying to dominate all other organizations. In our view, however, their major concern should be supervising the teaching process and welfare activities, as class representatives did in my university times.

Question: The ZSMP sponsors the youth press and is a member of the Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch Publishing Cooperative. Shallowness, an uncritical adulation of foreign culture, defeatist and nihilist trends, extreme infantilism, arrogance and intellectual laziness--that's how I'd sum up the values promoted by the rock subculture and the associated youth magazines, which waste more and more paper on record charts. They've apparently decided they'd rather save the time and effort involved in sociological analysis,

cognitive studies and presenting alternatives--these things aren't what sells magazines. Would you agree that the economic reform has meant commercializing the press?

Answer: Record charts are not some sin committed by the youth press. Many young people in Poland happen to be interested in music. The problem begins if this is their only interest. On this point, I'd like to say that although there is a youth press in Poland, there are actually very few magazines for young people. To change this state of affairs, we're trying to start up more papers for the young, ones edited by the young, such as KONFRONTACJE AKADEMICKIE or PAUZA, or local journals such as INICJATYWY in Katowice, KSZTALTY in Szczecin, or IMPULSY in Krakow.

Question: At its last meeting, the ZSMP National Committee discussed raising young people's qualifications. What's the union's contribution to promoting education among the young?

Answer: We cooperate with several teaching establishments with a view to improving the present educational system. We've also run our own workers' universities and rural universities. These courses are attended by 500,000 people a year. The rural universities are now celebrating their 60th anniversary, as the first of them was founded as a live-in college in Szyce near Cracow in 1924. We're continuing this tradition. Today, the rural universities--informal educational centers--play an important role in meeting the intellectual needs of rural youth and offering education in both theoretical and practical subjects.

The workers' universities run preparatory courses for those about to sit for college exams and offer various vocational and training facilities. They also hold competitions and seminars popularizing specific subjects.

Question: The 4th ZSMP Congress, scheduled for next year, will be the first since the youth movement was remodelled. What can you say about the preceding reporting and election campaign, which is currently under way?

Answer: It's proving that our political line is correct. We've been drawing conclusions from the experiences of the last 3 years and seeking ways to overcome the most acute problems of everyday life. We're critically assessing the work done by our branches and looking for new methods and forms of activity. Many interesting young people are being elected chairmen of our branches. There's been a lot of discussion regarding economic recovery, reconstructing our ideological work, strengthening our internal organization and finding more effective ways of representing young people's interests.

Question: Your press spokesman's reports from the campaign which come to our office most frequently begin as follows: "Our members demand," or "our members request assistance/facilities/privileges, etc." You must admit that this implies your organization is only interested in demanding things from others.



Answer: Not at all. Perhaps our press spokesman hasn't been editing his reports properly, or has somehow lost touch with reality. A lot of demands are put forward together with suggestions on how they can be met.

Question: Next year will see the 12th World Festival of Youth and Students.

Answer: It's 40 years now since the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Students Union came up with the idea of a festival as a kind of protest addressed to the older generation responsible for the madness of World War II, a protest designed to unite young people in preventing this tragedy from ever being repeated. Young Poles made a considerable contribution to that event. In 1955, Warsaw hosted the 5th Festival. During that period, when we were getting over the Cold War, this was an important factor in normalizing international relations. Unfortunately, Cold War attitudes surfaced again at the beginning of this decade. So we'll be going to Moscow as we did in 1957, to demonstrate our rejection of aggression, exploitation and political and economic blackmail, and express our support for the struggle for national independence, peace, democracy and social progress. On the 40th anniversary of the victory over the Nazis, we'll be meeting under the slogan "For anti-imperialist solidarity, peace and friendship."

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POLAND

PLURALISM IN WARSAW UNIVERSITY DEFENDED, PROBLEMS ELUCIDATED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 7 Jan 85 p 1

[Interview with Professor Grzegorz Bialkowski, rector-elect of Warsaw University, by Janina Paradowska: "In the Service of Fundamental Principles"]

[Text] Question: In February you'll be starting work as rector of Warsaw University, the largest university in Poland. The current situation there is generally described as difficult. Warsaw University is often said to be the most politicized college of all. What do you think of the atmosphere at the university now that you've democratically been elected rector there?

Answer: Judging by the extremely warm and sincere congratulations I've received from very many people of different views and orientations, specialists in very different fields, the academic community seems to have considerable confidence in me. I wouldn't like to lose this confidence, but would very much like to use it for the university's benefit, so that our university, which has been operating in truly tragic conditions, can finally start putting its problems behind it.

Question: Do you consider your election to be the result of a compromise which has taken place at the university in recent months?

Answer: I simply consider myself the rector of Warsaw University, an institution which is incomparably more important to me than any tactical moves. I certainly don't feel I represent any group or trend; my task is to express the needs, interests and yearnings of the entire academic community.

Question: But that community is neither homogeneous nor unanimous in its views.

Answer: I realize that different groups at the university may sometimes have contradictory interests; in such cases I will indeed try to be a rector of compromise. I hope--if only on the basis of the broad support I received during the election--that I'll be able to steer the university clear of the rocks, which will probably be cropping up on our course for some time yet.

Question: In your election speech, you said your program for the university's development was merely a contribution to the general discussion on this matter.

Answer: A university's program can't be worked out by its rector alone, this has to be done by the entire academic community. Nevertheless, I believe, and have tried to emphasize, that there are some fundamental elements which it has to be based on. These include the principles and ideals which I believe to be inviolable, such as scientific freedom and the concomitant ideas of tolerance and pluralism. We want to be free to choose areas of research and the most appropriate methods of research; we want to be able to say what we believe to be true. We also have to have the right to compare our achievements with the achievements of others. Another basic idea is the idea of the unity of science, expressed in the joint efforts of people united in their search for the truth, in their desire to establish the facts honestly and discover the most probable explanations for them. The third great idea governing academic life is university self-government and autonomy, which should correspond to our traditions and aspirations, but within the framework of our needs and capacities.

Question: You're asking a lot for the university. Aren't you asking too much?

Answer: If we're asking so much for ourselves, this is above all because we're all committed to one more idea, maybe the most important of them all, namely, the idea of service to the nation. Of course, our work gives us pleasure and personal satisfaction, but these aren't the only motives that guide us. Through our work we serve the general good, the good of the country, and that of the town in which our university is situated. I know that we're capable of doing this better than before. This service is expressed in our research work and our contribution to educating staff for science, education and the economy. But we want to give more of ourselves, especially to education in Warsaw and Poland in general, and also to the economy. We'd also like to make a greater contribution to improving the scientific knowledge of our fellow citizens.

Question: Yet whenever anything was said about Warsaw University in recent years, it was usually something bad. The university was attacked for its lack of research programs, lax discipline, poor organization of studies and ineffective research. True, these charges are being made against most Polish colleges these days, but Warsaw University has come under fire the most. Are things really so bad there?

Answer: It's impossible to make such categorical statements about an institution as large as Warsaw University, with 22 departments and 20,000 students. The real situation at the university is much more complicated--it has its very bad sides and its very good sides as well. As far as the bad sides are concerned, our material facilities are a very serious problem. This fact might seem to be common knowledge, but the impact it has on various aspects of university life is still underestimated. I'd be happy to quote a long list of our material problems. Take the university library, which has the largest collection of books in Poland, about 20 percent more than the National Library. It has to function in cramped premises which sometimes make it impossible to use the books. Many departments also

have to work in tragic conditions, the worst cases being biology and law and administration. One of the biology buildings (the old "Main School") is only fit for evacuation. My colleagues have calculated that the floor space of the building which houses law and administration is smaller than the total area taken up by the feet of all the students and teaching staff there. This may just be a joke, but reflects the bitter truth. There are many other examples of very bad conditions, if not quite so disastrous as those I've just mentioned. Another thing is our computing facilities. These days, there are certain branches of science which can't develop at all without access to computers. Some years ago, an R-60 computer was purchased, but it has proved a complete failure. Its central processing unit is faulty and breaks down all the time. The situation in this field is dramatic—it's a brake on research.

Question: Your material facilities are an obstacle, true, but are they really such a serious one?

Answer: I don't agree with oversimplified claims that the pace of research at Warsaw University has slowed down because the atmosphere is bad. A lot is being done at the university. We're carrying out a large number of centrally supervised programs. This is planned research, and it's easy to check what has been done and how well. Naturally, individual research is more difficult to plan, as this involves a certain amount of privacy. Sometimes it's difficult to predict the results till the very end, or to make plans years in advance.

You're asking me about the university's state of health. I'll reply with another question: How healthy can the university be, given that, for example, it employs over 600 professors and assistant professors, many of them of world renown, yet has admission quotas which are only slightly higher than those of universities with 100-200 professors and assistant professors? Our staff is worried by this state of affairs, lecturers can't put together their minimum number of teaching hours, they don't have a sense of stability. On top of that, we're accused of enrolling too few children from working-class and peasant backgrounds. True, the percentage of these students is low, much too low. But the situation is similar at other colleges, yet we bear the brunt of all the attacks. I'd add here that reducing admission quotas doesn't raise this percentage, particularly in departments where you have to do exceptionally well at the entrance exams to get in.

Question: But all the indications are that the quotas are going to be even smaller. The Central Annual Plan introduces a further reduction in the number of college places.

Answer: So we'll continue to lose valuable young people who through no fault of their own aren't so well prepared for the entrance exams. This has even further-reaching consequences. State funding for the university depends on the number of students. When the intake is falling, you can hardly talk about development.

Question: So there are plenty of problems, and we've only touched on some of them. Have you worked out any system of priorities?

Answer: I believe that first of all we have to create better psychological conditions for the staff to work in, as it's easier to change people's attitudes--though this certainly is no easy task either--than to make up for the material shortcomings which have accumulated over the years, so I'll be trying to convince the academic community to maintain its unity, which I believe it's slowly regaining. I would like the university to present a united front on issues of basic importance, which doesn't rule out disputes and debates. I would also like our staff to recover something that some of them may have forgotten--a sense of pride in their university and an awareness that they're working at a university whose greatness is not only a question of the number of departments or the intellectual potential it represents, but also stems from its traditions and scientific achievements. This is also one of my criteria in choosing my deputies. The people running a university should represent its research potential to the outside world. A sense of pride in belonging to this particular academic community may encourage people to make some sacrifices for the university. If we're not dedicated and don't make a real effort, we won't be able to change much.

Question: So you're not starting off by holding out your hand for money, but by exploiting the capital lying dormant in the university's own staff.

Answer: If we manage to use this, it'll be easier to appeal to outside institutions, primarily to the authorities and to industry. We have to turn to these institutions for support.

We have several ideas in mind. One is to set up a foundation of aid for Warsaw University. I think our university is so important, it's such a part of our national culture, that no Pole, wherever he may live, can be indifferent to what happens to it. This foundation could be an extra source of funds, for we have to rely first of all on state subsidies and contracts with industry. We have a lot of lost ground to make up here, particularly in the field of cooperation with industry. Another idea we have in mind is to set up a Warsaw University Graduates Society. The graduates of our university are scattered all over the world, they've got the capacity to do a lot, and they could help us in many ways.

Question: Professor, to end this interview I'd like you to tell us something more about yourself. I know you're an outstanding physicist, specializing in the theory of elementary particles, and also a poet who has published a few highly acclaimed volumes of verse. What else?

Answer: Ignoring the flattery I've just received, I'd have to agree with the rest of what you said. Who else am I? I'm born and bred in Warsaw, my family has lived here for generations, but above all I'm a graduate of Warsaw University.

Question: Is that why you agreed to run for rector in the first place?

Answer: In essence, this university made me what I am. How could I have refused it when it finally asked me for something in return? Especially in its present plight. Refusal was simply out of the question.

POLAND

DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS REPORTED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 20 Dec 84 pp 1, 2

[Text] A press conference held on Wednesday in the office of the government spokesman was devoted to a discussion of the "Report on the Demographic Situation in Poland in 1983." The report contains an evaluation of the population policy during the past 40 years, data from 1983, the demographic outlook for Poland up to the year 2000 and the resulting consequences for social and economic polic.

In 1983, the birth rate rose to a peak level in our country--720,000 births. This was the highest number of births in 22 years. During the current year, we went into a demographic slump. It is expected that by the end of 1984 approximately 700,000 babies will be born, i.e., a drop of 20,000. It may also be expected that fewer marriages will take place; their number will drop below 300,000.

The systematic increase in the number of deaths is disturbing. In 1983, as compared with 1982, there were 14,500 more deaths. This growing trend is also continuing in 1984. The main causes of death were diseases of the circulatory system, neoplastic diseases as well as injuries, accidents and poisonings. In 1980, 27.4 percent of the deaths were caused by circulatory diseases, while in 1983 this number was 49.1. This is one of the highest indexes in the world. In connection with this, it has been proposed that a government program be created for combatting circulatory diseases, modeled after the anticancer program.

The average life expectancy for women is 75.2 years, while for men it is 67.2 years. The phenomenon of an increased death rate among men of productive age continues to be prevalent. The increase in the number of births since 1977 is conducive to curbing the aging of Poland's population. Persons of postproductive age currently constitute 11.8 percent of the total population.

In 1983 for the first time in Poland the infant mortality rate per 1,000 live births on a national scale has decreased to 19.3. Despite this fact, we continue to find ourselves in this respect at the tail end in Europe. Another disquieting fact is that in 13 provinces there continues to be noted an infant mortality rate higher than the national average. In three provinces, Lodz, Sieradz and Lomza, this index shows a growing trend.

The defeminization of rural areas and the feminization of cities is characteristic of the demographic situation in Poland. In the rural areas of the eastern provinces, the shortage of women in relation to men comes to 33 percent in Bialystok and Lomza provinces; 20 percent in the provinces of Suwalki, Siedlce, Zamosc and Biala Podlaska; and 10 percent in 28 provinces. On the other hand, there is a pronounced predominance of women in cities. Exceptions to this are Katowice, Piotrkow and Szczecin, where for every 1,000 men there are respectively 928, 995 and 998 women.

The demographic outlook up to the year 2000 predicts a fluctuation of highs and lows characteristic for Poland. It is anticipated that between 1990 and 1995 there will be 600,000 births and after 1995 there will be another baby boom. In the year 2000 the population of Poland will reach 40.7 million people. Between 1981 and 2000 12.7 million babies will be born in the country. This creates specific consequences for social policy: education, health services, etc.

The growth rate of the population of productive age is decreasing systematically. The second half of the 1980's will be characterized by the lowest post-war growth rate of this group of people (325,000). The number of people of postproductive age will increase by 825,000. In the year 2000, the number of this population group will come to 5.8 million, which will constitute 14.3 percent of the entire population.

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POLAND

BIOGRAPHIC SKETCH OF TOTT GIVEN

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 29-30 Dec 84 p 2

[Text] Konrad Tott was born in 1936 in Brusno Nowe in Przemysl Province. In 1959, he completed the Aeronautics Division at the Technical Military Academy and received the title of Master Engineer of Electromechanics. In 1972 he received a doctorate in technical sciences at this academy and in 1979 he defended his thesis for teaching certification [habilitacja] in the Department of Electronics, Electrotechnology and Automatic Control Engineering at the Academy of Mining and Metallurgy in Krakow. He holds the title of assistant professor [docent]. He has 25 years of experience in scientific-research facilities.

Between 1959 and 1982 he was employed as a scientific researcher at the Air Force Institute of Technology and in other military scientific-research institutions. In 1982 he was transferred to civilian work and appointed to the post of managing director of the Air Force Institute in Warsaw.

He has published many scientific works. For several years, he has been involved in organizing research-developmental processes; he oversees numerous studies in the field of scientific-technological progress and effectively applies scientific achievements to economic-production practice. He participates in many national and foreign committees and is, among other things, a member of the Scientific Council of the Polish Academy of Sciences Systems Research Institute and Transport Committee. He is chairman of the subgroup for scientific-technological cooperation between the aeronautics industries of the PRL and of the USSR. He also works in cooperation with the Cosmic Research Institute of the Academy of Science in the USSR in connection with the Air Force Institute's participation in the "Vega" program within the framework of cooperation between the academies of science of Poland and the Soviet Union.

He has been awarded the Cavalier's Cross of the Order of Polonia Restituta and the Gold Cross of Merit. He is a member of the PZPR.

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POLAND

## SUFFOCATION OF CULTURAL LIFE EXAGGERATED

Warsaw TU I TERAZ in Polish No 3, 16 Jan 85 p 2

[Article by Jan Rem: "In and Around Cabarets"]

[Excerpts] It is hard to overlook the role of the church in contemporary Poland, yet none of the jokes in the latest program of Jan Pietrzak's "Pod egida" cabaret mentions this institution. The church, it appears, is something really holy, and therefore taboo.

The most amusing thing I heard at the "Pod egida" cabaret was the news--from inside sources--that Pietrzak had stopped collaborating with his established scriptwriters Gronski and Passent [POLITYKA columnists]. This is the result of a political purge in his cabaret, with those who are suspect being removed. There even are blanked-out spots on the pictures from old performances hanging on the walls. Pietrzak's cabaret has taken to altering its own history to make it more politically correct.

Judging from the discussion printed in PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI, whose participants included Wajda, Bratkowski and Ms Hartwig, it seems that the church is about to make some new and costly investments. In every parish it will now have to build catacombs where artists will be able to hide from the regime. Andrzej Wajda's contribution to the discussion corresponds to what he said in an interview for TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, which was that when he was chairman of the Film-makers' Association the Polish cinema was producing films of genius, while today's films are not worth viewing. Nevertheless, Wajda absolves his successors in the association from sin, because although they have been collaborating with the regime, they have only done so to the extent necessary to keep the Polish cinema going. Judging by this, we can conclude that Poland has experienced a cultural revolution, similar to that in China in the mid-1960's, which is why artists and the arts in general must now seek refuge in the church. According to Ms Hartwig, it would be immoral to leave this place of refuge.

The church's artistic tenants have been burning a lot of incense at the altar of their new landlords. It has to be admitted, however, that boot-licking is not a habit they acquired when seeking church patronage, but one transferred to this sacred environment from the drawing-rooms of the previous authorities.

Ms Arto believes that the church provides a foundation for a philosophy of life that will satisfy everyone. From what she says it might be concluded that the church is a neutral patron, one that knows no doctrines of its own and does not combat other people's visions of the world.

Andrzej Wajda claims that the only original Polish art has been spiritual art, involving a transcendental view of the world. He negates the value of realistic art. That is why the church is quite satisfactory as a patron of the arts, since anything of artistic value can easily be fitted into its spiritual climate. Thus, people such as Boleslaw Prus [1845-1912, a positivist writer] have been excluded from Polish culture, to say nothing of Boy [1874-1941, a leading prewar critic] and the other rationalists.

Wajda comes across as more Catholic than the journalist representing PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI, who is concerned about the fact that intellectuals bring in a baggage of agnosticism, free-thinking and the traditions of various cultures to the church. The church hierarchy is afraid of these things, but, he assures us, the church will tone them all down.

Meanwhile, Stefan Bratkowski not only wants to make the church the rallying point for all artists, he wants to transfer all social life to the confines of the parish. "I believe," says he, "that the moral authority of Christian moral norms allows practically everyone to rally round the parish."

This is an extreme and unorthodox view for an atheist, which Bratkowski declares he has remained. Atheism denies the existence of God. So an atheist who wants to concentrate all social life around an institution dedicated to worshipping--if my logic is correct--is one who wants to base all social life on something he regards false.

Bratkowski even went so far as to say that the parish would make the best school of democracy, claiming it had always been one. "The entire institution of British local government grew from the institution of the parish," he said. However, the erudite Bratkowski forgot here that it was not Catholic parishes that provided this school of democracy, but Anglican ones. It was only the rejection of Catholicism and the Reformation that changed the parish into a democratic institution, one where the voice of the parishioners mattered. Bratkowski's school of democracy would be one-man units managed by a nominee, i.e., the parish priest.

As we see, bootlicking--serious in its intentions--can be even more amusing than cabarets.

From time to time Poland is visited by foreigners with notebooks full of the addresses of opposition intellectuals worth meeting. These foreigners then meet people whose faces are contracted by hatred, who tell them that life in Poland is awful and they find the atmosphere suffocating. During the louder outbursts of their hosts' hatred of communists, the foreigners concerned, horrified by such effusions, cast frightened glances at the door, expecting to hear rifle butts being pounded on it. But they do not even hear the milkman knocking (the said milkman being off work sick).

Once they get to know Poland a little better, the foreigners decide the oppositionists are slightly crazy, while the country as a whole seems surrealistic. The Polish artists they meet admit that political freedom is currently greater than ever before, that artistic freedom is total, and that, in actual fact, the authorities are willing to finance their work with no expectation of political profit. The foreigners are also aware of the fact that in Poland everyone shoots his mouth off as and when he likes, with no fear of the authorities described as the most terrifying in the world. Then the same foreigners go to Pietrzak's cabaret, where someone whispers into their ears a translation of texts that crucify everything Polish, in particular the commies. Finally, they learn that this cabaret is run by a state enterprise, and then begin to wonder whether the oppositionists are not perhaps lying, with the very fact of their prosperity being concrete proof.

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POLAND

WAJDA EXPLORES TRENDS IN POLISH CINEMA

Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish No 1, 6 Jan 85 p 3

[Interview with Andrzej Wajda by Tadeusz Szyma in November 1984: "Finding a Form for What Is Good"]

[Text] Question: This is your first interview granted to a Polish paper in 3 years, so I am tempted to ask you about everything at once. But let us begin with the general problems. What view of the Polish cinema have you developed during your recent seclusion?

Answer: Since "Danton," which was a French-Polish production, but which, I believe, was to a greater degree a Polish film than a French one, I have not managed to make a single film in Poland, though I watched the making of those films which were completed after martial law was imposed in Poland. Many of these films were completed thanks to our association [Polish Film-makers Association SFP]. Although the association was suspended on 13 December, we had enough influence to convince the officials that the films should be completed irrespective of what would happen to them afterwards. I believe that these efforts were one of the SFP's greatest achievements. So I watched those films with great interest and I know them all well, although not all have been shown to the public. As far as the films which came later are concerned, then I didn't even want to see many of them if I am to tell the truth. They didn't interest me at all and I didn't see the slightest reason why I should see them. The films which I did see and which did arouse my interest were Krzysztof Kieslowski's "Szczesliwy Koniec" [Happy End], Piotr Szulkin's "O bi o ba," which I have seen recently, and certainly "Seksmisja" [Sexmission] which is an example of a film by a very aware and talented film director [Juliusz Machulski]. I think I should also mention Saniewski's "Nadzor" [Supervision] made in the Irzykowski film studio. This is an outstanding film which shows that we have a new, very independent film director who is very sensitive to the reality. Another film produced in the same studio was Waldemar Dziki's "Kartka z Podrozy" [A Postcard From a Travel]. I value this film greatly and I think that it is close to the truth. In addition, I saw a whole festival of short films by students from Lodz and Katowice. I was even a member of the jury at this festival which filled me with optimism, particularly with regard to the Katowice school. But this feeling keeps changing. I also saw some documentary films which aroused my interest [----] [Law on Censorship of

31 July 1981, art. 2, pt 1 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 99, amended 1983, DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, item 204)].

Question: Is this the end of the "good list"?

Answer: I may have overlooked something when being in seclusion, but there were two other films which I watched with great satisfaction. One was Marcel Lozinski's "Cwiczenia Warsztatowe" [Workshop Exercises], which was the most intelligent film of all that I have seen recently. This film was also produced at the Irzykowski studio which plays a very important role in the Polish cinema today. I also saw "Dokumentacja do filmu Stachura" [Materials for the Film "Stachura"]. Even before the closing of our X studio I worked with Andrzej Brzozowski on a script for a film about Edward Stachura. But last year I dropped this idea since, according to me, it no longer corresponded with the reality. However, Andrzej Brzozowski decided to go ahead and make a documentary film of his own.

Question: Let us now take a look at that aspect of the Polish cinema which concerns the relations between filmmakers and the administration.

Answer: The most difficult conflicts in this respect always develop with regard to the program which filmmakers are supposed to follow. The Polish cinema has had various problems. There were no glue, no nails, no paint, and there are no warehouses. Wastefulness has always been with us and unfortunately the Polish cinema is a more than typical example. It seems this is a norm which cannot be changed. Therefore, the fact that it is difficult to produce films in Poland is not the most important. In fact when a film is completed the difficulties which its makers have had to cope with are hardly visible. This is another characteristic of the Polish cinema. Filmmakers and directors who are really ambitious and want to achieve something cope successfully with these problems. What is striking, however, are the restrictions imposed on the films' subjects. Therefore, the program, which filmmakers are supposed to follow, is the greatest problem, of course.

Question: Even before August 1980, the program for the cinema of "moral unrest" was the most controversial one. TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY was one of its few supporters. Even in Gdansk, this now historical current met with criticism.

Answer: If that program, the cinema of moral unrest, was considered negative and unworthy of continuation, let me ask what positive program can the Polish cinema be offered instead. It has been proposed that films for pure entertainment should be made which would meet public expectation in the difficult times we are experiencing. But the opinion that those earlier films had no audiences is an opinion developed in "a priori." One would need real data in order to tell if the audiences were really turning their backs on those films.

Question: We also have to remember that even the most accurate statistics do not tell us how many people let themselves be fooled by dubious

entertainment, by erotic tricks, cheap sensation, and foolish jokes. How many people leave the cinema with a sense of disappointment and irritation, how many leave before the show is over, how many people come to see these films because they have no other choice, how many are given tickets at their workplaces or are sent to see the dull stuff not to relax but for educational purposes by their schools (this particularly applies to youth).

Answer: Yes, of course, but this is a different problem. As I see it, the program for making the entertainment pictures has only partly passed the test. As always, one, two or three pictures are successful and the others pass unnoticed. But the films that are concerned with Polish subjects--even if they are not great successes--do contribute something to culture, they become evidence of our time and tell us something about ourselves. Films for entertainment, on the other hand, contribute nothing. They become imitations of the West European entertainment pictures. Nothing could be worse. The real entertainment cinema, the American cinema, is the only one. Only this cinema is universal and only American entertainment films are popular throughout the world. The French entertainment films, for instance, appeal only to the French. Why should we imitate such provincial cinema? By doing so we isolate ourselves from the world, we cannot show anybody what we are doing. It isn't true that Polish films cannot appeal in other countries, that they cannot arouse international interest. On the contrary, they can, and they did so many times in the past. This could continue to be so, provided our films concern that reality which can be best presented and interpreted by the people who witness it, i.e., by Polish film directors.

Question: Many filmmakers understand that this is the role they should play. Such attitudes were expressed at a recent meeting of the Polish Filmmakers Association, a meeting which you did not attend. Were you trying to avoid expressing your opinion about the Polish cinema today?

Answer: I have devoted 30 years of my life to the Polish cinema, I am not indifferent to what happens to it, and I don't want to see it pushed to the side. The problems of cinema in Poland are also my own serious, and very personal problems. The SFP finds itself in a very difficult situation. Some time ago when I was in office, and particularly at the end of that period, it played a very important role. Our influence on decisions taken then was greater than ever before. The best proof of that is the fact that 1981 was the year of the Polish cinema's greatest successes. Eighty films were made and distributed in Poland and abroad, and we had great plans for the future. You should also remember that the association does still exist due to the decision of our electors. It wasn't I, as its president, or the whole presidium which decided that the association should continue to exist. We convened a congress of the SFP members to hear their opinion, and it was they who decided that the SFP should continue to exist and operate in its present form. Therefore, none of us now feel embittered or bear a grudge against others; neither against those who chair the association now, because we know what situation they have to work in, nor against our own selves. We had been democratically elected and our basic duty was to ask those who elected us if the association should exist or not. Therefore although the SFP is experiencing various difficulties, it is certainly free from moral ambiguity.

Question: The decision of the SFP members was understandable. When the majority of filmmakers are dependent on the state-owned film industry, an organization which enables them to do something, which they believe has not lost sense, is necessary. Do you have any hope for making a film in Poland in the foreseeable future?

Answer: Preparations for the Polish-French production of "Danton" had taken a long time. Despite the imposition of martial law on 13 December, the authorities decided not to break that contract but create all possible opportunities for the film's completion. However, the film could not be shot in Poland since firstly, there were no materials and no means with which to construct decorations and secondly, the group scenes, from which we expected most, were absolutely out of the question in a situation where a meeting of more than five people was illegal. It should be said, however, that the authorities in charge of the cinema did everything they could so that all the actors, cameramen and other people involved in the production would receive passports and go [to France] to finish the film. After we had completed that picture I had to honor my commitment to another producer. And it was then, when I wanted to engage the Polish cinema in the making of "Love in Germany" that I encountered, for the first time, strong resistance from the authorities so that I had to turn to Piotr Lysak from Canada and to Daniel Olbrychski, who was then in Paris, to play the Polish characters in that film.

The problem of Agnieszka Holland's script for a film about Janusz Korczak has been dragging on for 2 1/2 years. We had planned to make this film in cooperation with an American company long ago, when I still had a studio of my own. I even had the script signed by the previous minister [of culture] but only recently have I been told that it has finally received all the necessary approvals and so the picture can be shot in Poland. Unfortunately, the producer who waited for 2 1/2 years for the Polish authorities to make up their minds, eventually grew discouraged and began to look for new possibilities to shoot the film in Hungary. He found another great film director, Karoly Mekka. If the authorities do not change their minds again, I will try to reverse the course of events. You see, another problem is connected with the fact that two scripts are ready at the moment, one by Agnieszka and another by John Briley, the author of the script to Gandhi. The producer now very much wishes to have these two scripts combined and considers my participation in the making of "Korczak" as dependent on whether such a combination takes place. [----] (Law on Censorship of 31 July 1981, art. 2, pt 1)

Question: Do you plan to make a new film abroad?

Answer: Yes. A contract, which I signed with the Paris Gaumont Company, says that I shall direct three pictures for them. One was "Danton." The next is "The Possessed" according to Dostoyevsky [----] (Law on Censorship of 31 July 1981, art. 2, pt 1). The third film I am planning will be from Ryszard Kapuscinski's novel "Cesarz" [The Emperor].

Question: Since at least outside Poland your future does not seem discouraging, let us for a while go back to the past, to your film "Popiol i Diament" [Ashes and Diamonds]. It has recently been shown again and anybody could see that this film has survived the past three decades astonishingly well; a period which most films cannot span without losing their appeal. I wonder if you have seen it recently. What is your attitude toward your old films in general?

Answer: I don't like seeing my films once they are made so that happens very rarely indeed, but I did see "Ashes and Diamonds" last spring at a meeting with students from the Katowice School of Filmmaking. Certainly Zbyszek Cybulski is of an unquestionable value to this film. It is from him its appeal comes. His acting was so progressive, he was so very real, that even though Polish actors act extremely well these days nobody can overshadow him. What about the rest? Well, the way this film was made, Jerzy Wojcik's photography, and particularly the script helped Cybulski a lot.

Question: Yes, and we also have to say that as a matter of fact the script was better balanced and closer to the truth than the novel on which it was based.

Answer: Well, no. It should be said openly here that Jerzy Andrzejewski took the opportunity to write an entirely new text for the film. He threw a completely different light on his novel. It was I who suggested to choose Maciek Chelmicki as the picture's main figure and to limit the plot to only one night, but if Andrzejewski had not decided because of the approaching 1956 to rewrite "Ashes and Diamonds," this film would never have attained such great artistic and intellectual cohesion. Anybody who now criticizes Andrzejewski for keeping silent about so many things in "Ashes and Diamonds" should remember that for him the film meant mainly the settling of accounts with his own book.

Question: Have you ever wondered how you would make this film today?

Answer: No. The only film I would like to make again is "Lotna." I think that I now know how to make this film, beginning with the script of course.

Question: Although you have problems starting a new picture in Poland, you have managed to continue, with great success, your cooperation with the Stary Theater in Krakow. What do you think about the links between screen and stage?

Answer: I think that theater and cinema are two different art forms which don't meet anywhere, which have absolutely nothing in common and that only those who do not try to adapt film ideas for the stage and vice versa can work for both the stage and the screen. Of course some films happen to have something in common with stage productions, and some plays are staged in a manner resembling that of filmmakers. But there is a great difference between the two. Theater means interaction between live actors and live audiences, while a film is but a play of shadows on the screen. In addition,



theater is where words matter most while films rely on pictures, on images. When staging classical plays, I look for those things which reflect the life of my audiences today. In filmmaking I look for the scripts which would enable me to tell the people that which I think is now important. I try to avoid mixing these two genres.

Question: Let us concentrate on films again [----] (Law on Censorship of 31 July 1981). Do you think that the miracle of a film completely corresponding to public expectations can be repeated? The audiences are waiting.

Answer: I would like to meet those expectations and I am trying to do so but I know that such miracles happen very rarely. In addition, my situation is more difficult than that of other filmmakers because the audiences expect more from me than from the others. They would like me not only to make a film on a contemporary subject but also to include in it a vision of the future, a vision which would come true. I have managed a few times to find in Polish literature the works which corresponded well with the moment when the films, made from these works, were shown. It is easy for me to guess what the audiences want because for the past 30 years I have been part of these audiences and I feel that it is they who assigned filmmaking to me. Only he, who knows that he enjoys the support of millions of people who think as he does, can be a film director. I am not, of course, speaking of the so-called popular cinema but of that which millions of Poles really think. People want to see on screen, good conquering evil, that honesty pays off and is rewarded, that endurance is a virtue and that the old, apparently rejected values should be defended since, in the long run, only the imponderables really matter. It should also be remembered that critical art, reflecting the negative aspects of reality, has always been more attractive. Meanwhile, the time has come now for positive, educational art, the art that would comfort people.

Question: But I think that this peculiar attractiveness of the "negative" art does not result from greater attractiveness of the evil than the good but from the fact that it is very difficult to find a proper shape for the good, one that would not oversimplify it.

Answer: I think, I agree with you.

Before the publishing of this interview, Andrzej Wajda sent the following letter to TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY:

I am very glad to inform you that a script, based on Tadeusz Konwicki's novel "Kronika Wynadkow Milosnych" [A Chronicle of Love Cases], was approved on Monday, 17 December. I will probably start shooting the film at the end of March 1985 in the Perspektywa film studios managed by Mr Janusz Morgenstern.

CSO: 2600/544

POLAND

# BRIEFS

MICHNA BIOGRAPHIC PROFILE--Upon the recommendation of the minister-director of the Office of Environmental Protection and Water Management, the chairman of the Council of Ministers appointed Prof Dr Hab Waldemar Michna to the post of undersecretary of state in this office. Waldemar Michna was born in 1929 in Sniadowka in Lublin Province to a peasant family. He completed his higher education at the Central School of Agriculture [SGGW] in Warsaw. He holds the title of Professor (Doctor Habilitatus) of agricultural sciences. He began his professional work in 1949 in the district administration of the Polish Youth Union in Pulawy, fulfilling the function of vice chairman. Subsequently, he was a department head in the regional administration of the Academic Youth Union in Warsaw. Between 1951 and 1952, he worked in the Department of Agrarian Science at the SGGW in Warsaw. From 1952 to 1956, he fulfilled the function of instructor in the ZSL Supreme Committee from where he went over to work at the Office of the Council of Ministers, where until 1973, he was an adviser and director of the cabinet of the vice chairman of the Council of Ministers where he fulfilled a supervisory function over agriculture and forestry. Between 1973 and 1980, he served as the head of the Economic-Agricultural Department of the ZSL Supreme Committee and then as the chairman of the ZSL Provincial Capital Committee. During the course of his many years of work and activity, he has taken on problems involving environmental protection, supplying rural areas and agriculture with water, and regulating water conditions. Recently he was the manager of the Department of Food Policy at the Institute of the Economy of Agriculture and Food Management and the head of the Agricultural Academy at SGGW. He is currently in his eighth term of office as deputy to the PRL Sejm. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 1-2 Dec 84 p 2] 9853

GDULA BIOGRAPHY--Upon the recommendation of the minister of internal affairs, the chairman of the Council of Ministers has appointed Andrzej Gdula to the post of undersecretary of state in this ministry. A. Gdula was born in 1942 in Zywiec to a working class family. He completed his higher education at the University of Slask, obtaining a master's degree in administration. He began his professional work in 1964 at the State Machine Center in Okrajnik. Between 1969 and 1971 he worked as an instructor, and later until 1975 he served as secretary of the PZPR County Committee in Zywiec. Until 1980 he was assistant manager of the PZPR Provincial Committee Agricultural and Food Management Department in Bielsko-Biala. Since 1981, he has held the position of first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee in this city. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24-25-26 Dec 84 p 4] 9853

COOPERATION WITH USSR--A delegation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, headed by Yuriy Rybakov, director of the Legal-Treaty Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, visited Warsaw. During their stay, talks were held at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with the Polish delegation, which was headed by Stanislaw Pawlak, director of the Legal-Treaty Department of the Ministry of Affairs. A draft plan of an agreement between the PRL and the USSR with regard to the boundaries of the territorial sea (territorial waters), the economic zone, the fishing zone and the continental shelf in the Baltic Sea was drawn up and approved. The head of the Soviet delegation, Yu. Rybakov, was received by Duputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Henryk Jaroszek. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Dec 84 p 5] 9853

BULGARIAN IDEOLOGICAL DELEGATION--At the invitation of the editorial staff of NOWE DROGI, a delegation from NOVO VREME, the theoretical journal of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee, paid a visit to Poland between the 2nd and 10th of this month. The delegation consisted of Slavcho Giorgiev and Lubomir Vladimirov. The delegation became acquainted with the political and socioeconomic situation of the PRL, with the activity of the PZPR and of the editorial staff of NOWE DROGI. Discussions were held on the subject of cooperation between the two periodicals in the coming year. Stanislaw Wronski, the editor-in-chief of NOWE DROGI, took part in the discussions. The delegation was received by Janusz Kolczynski, first deputy director of the PZPR Central Committee Information Department. Meetings were also held in the PZPR Central Committee Economic Department, at the Academy of Social Sciences and also at the Automobile Plant [FSO] in Zeran. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 11 Dec 84 p 2] 9853

SOCIALIST CORRESPONDENTS RECEIVED--On the 27th of this month in the PZPR Central Committee headquarters, Marek Holdakowski, head of the Central Committee's Economic Department, acquainted foreign correspondents from socialist countries and press attaches from the embassies of these countries in Warsaw with the fundamental economic problems with which the 18th Central Committee Plenum concerned itself and with the major points of the resolution with regard to the issue of party tasks in the implementation of the Central Annual Plan for 1985. He also answered questions concerning various aspects of the current economic situation in Poland and questions pertaining to the assumptions and outlook for the coming year. At the conclusion of the meeting, Stanislaw Glen, the deputy director of the PZPR Central Committee Press, Radio and Television Department, gave his New Year's greetings to correxpondents from fraternal countries and thanked them for the efforts which they put into presenting objective information about Poland in the mass media which they represent. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Dec 84 p 5] 9853

CENTRAL COMMITTEE STATEMENT--The PZPR Central Committee approves the material presented by the Central Committee Politburo on the current state of implementation and the planned undertakings with regard to the resolutions of the Ninth Party Congress. The Central Committee recommends that this material be given to all party echelons and organizations and also to interested institutions so that party members may become familiar with this material and that activity may be undertaken aimed at the full implementation of the resolutions in their own regions. This subject matter should constitute the main theme of the reports campaign in the party. Signed: PZPR Central Committee, Warsaw,

12 December 1984. (We will publish the resolution pertaining to party tasks in the implementation of the Central Annual Plan for 1985 in the very near future). [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29-30 Dec 84 p 1] 9853

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